A PRINCESS OF INTRIGUE

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From an engraving by Girard, after the painting at Versailles attributed to Mignard.

ANNE GENEVIÈVE DE BOURBON DUCHESSE DE LONGUEVILLE.

A PRINCESS OF INTRIGUE

Anne Geneviève de Bourbon, Duchesse de Longueville, and her Times

By

H. NOEL WILLIAMS

Author of

"Five Fair Sisters," "Madame Récamier and Her Friends," "Madame de Pompadour," "Queen Margot," etc

"En France nous avons trois femmes qui seroient capables de gouverner ou de bouleverser trois grands royaumes: la Duchesse de Longueville, la Princesse Palatine, et la Duchesse de Chevreuse."—MAZARIN.

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TO
MY WIFE

PREFATORY NOTE

THE principal sources, both contemporary and modern, which I have consulted in the preparation of this volume are mentioned either in the text or the foot-notes. I desire, however, to acknowledge my obligations to the following works by modern writers: Duc d'Aumale, *Histoire des Princes de Condé;* M. Jean Bourdeau, *La Rochefoucauld*; A. Chéruel, *Histoire de France pendant la minorité de Louis XIV.;* Mrs. Alfred Cock, *Madame de Longueville;* Victor Cousin, *la Jeunesse de Madame de Longueville, Correspondance de Madame de Longueville avec la Princesse Palatine, etc.* (*Journal des Savants*, 1852 and 1853), *Madame de Longueville pendant la Fronde, la Société française au XVII^e siècle*, and *Madame de Sablé* (edit. 1854); M. Victor du Bled, *la Société française du XVI^e siècle au XX^e siècle;* Alphonse Feillet, *la Misère du temps de la Fronde;* Pierre Floquet, *Histoire du Parlement de Normandie;* M. J. Henrard, *Henri IV. et la Princesse de Condé;* MM. Homberg and Jousselin, *la Femme du Grand Condé;* Mr. J. B. Perkins, *France under Mazarin;* M. Jules Roy, *Turenne;* C. A. Sainte-Beuve, *Portraits de Femmes* and *Port-Royal;* Mrs. Romanes, *Port-Royal;* and Earl Stanhope, *Life of Louis, Prince of Condé, surnamed the Great.*

H. NOEL WILLIAMS.

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CONTENTS

CHAP.		PAGE
I.	BIRTH OF ANNE GENEVIÈVE DE BOURBON	9
II.	MLLE. DE BOURBON AND THE CARMELITES	13
III.	MLLE. DE BOURBON AND THE HÔTEL DE RAMBOUILLET	26
IV.	THE MARRIAGE OF MLLE. DE BOURBON	43
V.	MAZARIN AND THE "IMPORTANTS"	57
VI.	A COURT SCANDAL	70
VII.	MADAME DE LONGUEVILLE AT THE CONGRESS OF MÜNSTER.	88
VIII.	MADAME DE LONGUEVILLE AND LA ROCHEFOUCAULD	104
IX.	THE COURT AND THE PARLEMENT	115
X.	THE "DAY OF THE BARRICADES"	128
XI.	THE FLIGHT TO SAINT-GERMAIN	144
XII.	THE BLOCKADE OF PARIS	154
XIII.	MADAME DE LONGUEVILLE, CONDÉ AND MAZARIN	171
XIV.	"PRIDE GOETH BEFORE A FALL"	183
XV.	THE ARREST OF THE PRINCES	193
XVI.	MADAME DE LONGUEVILLE AT STENAI	215
XVII.	THE FALL OF MAZARIN	228
XVIII.	THE TWO FRONDES	249
XIX.	CONDÉ AND THE COURT	265
XX.	"THE SWORD IS DRAWN"	279
XXI.	THE HOUSE OF CONDÉ AGAINST FRANCE	294
XXII.	THE TRIUMPH OF MAZARIN	307
XXIII.	THE FRONDE AT BORDEAUX	320
XXIV.	THE CONVERSION OF MADAME DE LONGUEVILLE	341
XXV.	MADAME DE LONGUEVILLE AND PORT-ROYAL	358
XXVI.	THE LAST YEARS OF MADAME DE LONGUEVILLE	374
	INDEX	388

A PRINCESS OF INTRIGUE

CHAPTER I

BIRTH OF ANNE GENEVIÈVE DE BOURBON

ANNE GENEVIÈVE DE BOURBON, DUCHESSE DE LONGUEVILLE, was the only daughter of Henri II., Prince de Condé, and the beautiful Charlotte Marguerite de Montmorency,* the lady who inspired Henri IV. with the last and perhaps the most violent of his *grandes passions*, and was born on August 28, 1619. The birthplace of the third Prince de Condé was the prison of Saint-Jean-d'Angely (September 1, 1588), where his mother, Charlotte de la Trémoille had been incarcerated on suspicion of having been concerned in the poisoning of her husband,† and, by a singular coincidence, it was also in a prison that his daughter first saw the light.

During the stormy minority of Louis XIII., *Monsieur le Prince*—to give Condé his official title‡—an ambitious, greedy and meddlesome man, had been indefatigable in fomenting opposition to the government of Marie de' Medici, and for some time found the *métier* of rebel an exceedingly profitable one. After the insurrection of 1614, his loyalty was purchased at the price of 450,000 livres, and at the Peace of Loudon, two years later—so

* She was the daughter of the Connétable Henri de Montmorency, by his second wife, Louise de Budos, a woman of middling birth, but of such wondrous beauty that some persons attributed it to supernatural agency.

† On the death of Henri I., Prince de Condé, see the Duc d'Aumale's *Histoire des Princes de Condé*, Vol. II. The illustrious author is of opinion that the prince died from natural causes, since though his death was very sudden and attended by suspicious circumstances, he had been in ill health for some time. In 1595, after having been kept in prison for six years, Charlotte de la Trémoille was at length acquitted of the terrible charge under which she had so long lain, and her little son, the legitimacy of whose birth had been freely questioned, declared heir-presumptive to the throne.

‡ At the French Court, the first Prince of the Blood was always styled *Monsieur le Prince*, his wife, *Madame la Princesse*, and their eldest son, *Monsieur le Duc*: the King's eldest brother, *Monsieur*, his wife, *Madame*, and their eldest daughter, *Mademoiselle*. Of the King's daughters, the eldest was known as *Madame Royale*, the others were referred to by their christian names prefixed by "Madame"—Madame Elizabeth, Madame Marguerite, and so forth.

enormously had the wages of rebellion risen in the interval —the sum of 1,500,000 livres was required to induce him to return to his duty, while he also obtained five places of surety for the good behaviour of the Court and the right of signing all the decrees of the Council. But his success in exploiting the weakness of the Government seems to have turned his head ; his arrogance became unbearable, and a rumour having spread that his principal adherents, the Ducs de Bouillon, de Longueville, de Mayenne, and de Vendôme, were about to make an attempt to place him on the throne, on September 1, 1616—which, by the way, happened to be his birthday—Marie de' Medici, on the advice of Richelieu and Sully, caused him to be arrested at the Louvre, to which he had come to attend a meeting of the Council.

For three weeks Condé remained a close prisoner in one of the upper rooms of the palace, and was there removed to the Bastille, where he was subjected to a most rigorous confinement in a gloomy chamber, the windows of which were so closely grated that scarcely a ray of light was permitted to enter.

For some time past the relations between the prince and his wife, Charlotte de Montmorency, had been very cool ; indeed, it would appear that the tie which bound them had become merely a nominal one. Nevertheless, on learning of the arrest of her husband, the princess, who was at the Château of Valery, showed real magnanimity. Without a moment's delay she set out for Paris, sent the prince messages assuring him of her sympathy and devotion, and begged the Regent to allow her to share his captivity. Her request, however, was refused, and she received orders to leave Paris at once and return to Valery.

After the assassination of Concini and the departure of the Queen-Mother for Blois, the rigour of Condé's confinement was somewhat abated, and at the end of May, 1617, his wife was permitted to join him. We read in a journal of the time :

"*May* 26, 1617.—The Princesse de Condé went to salute the King, and to entreat him to permit her to share her husband's captivity. The King accorded her permission and to take with her one demoiselle. Upon which, her little dwarf, having begged him to consent to his not abandoning his mistress, his Majesty permitted him also to accompany her. The same afternoon, *Madame*

la Princesse entered the Bastille, where she was received by *Monsieur le Prince* with every demonstration of affection, nor did he leave her in repose until she had said that she forgave him."*

The prince and princess remained in the Bastille until September 15, when they were transferred to the Château of Vincennes. Here Condé was allowed a good deal more liberty than had been permitted him in Paris, and "took exercise daily on the top of a thick wall, which was in the form of a gallery." In the last days of December, *Madame la Princesse* gave birth to a still-born son, and was more than forty-eight hours without movement or feeling. Never was a person in greater extremity without dying. The prince desired that the child should receive ecclesiastical burial; but the Archbishop of Paris assembled the theologians, who decided that, since it had not received baptism, it had not entered the Church, and that no funeral ceremony was permissible."†

Ill fortune seemed to pursue both husband and wife. On September 5, 1618, the princess gave birth to twin sons, neither of whom survived, and, in the following March, Condé fell dangerously ill, and for some days his life was despaired of. The physicians who attended him attributed his illness to the state of profound melancholy into which his prolonged captivity and the death of his children had thrown him, and, when this was known, the prince became the object of universal sympathy and Louis XIII. was strongly urged to consent to his release. His Majesty promised to give the matter his most earnest consideration, and, in the meanwhile, permitted the Dowager-Princesse de Condé and other relatives to visit the prisoner, and returned him his sword, accompanied by a letter, in which he expressed his regret at his illness and promised to set him at liberty "as soon as he had placed his (Condé's) affairs in order."

These affairs must have been of a somewhat complicated nature, for several months passed, and Condé still remained at Vincennes, though granted every indulgence consistent with a due regard to his security. However,

* *Journal historique et anecdote de la Cour et de Paris*, MSS. of Conrart, cited by Victor Cousin, *la Jeunesse de Madame de Longueville*. The chronicle speaks frequently of the prince's ill-treatment of his wife, for which he appears to think there was no justification.

† *Journal historique et anecdote de la Cour et de Paris.*

at the end of August, another domestic event, which, happily, had a different termination from the others, came to relieve the monotony of his captivity. We read in the *Journal* already cited :

" *August* 28, 1619.—Between midnight and one o'clock, *Madame la Princesse* gave birth to a daughter, in the Bois de Vincennes."*

This little girl was Anne Geneviève de Bourbon, the future Duchesse de Longueville.

The birth of Anne Geneviève was the turning-point of her parents' fortunes. Seven weeks later (October 20, 1619), Condé was set at liberty, and on November 26, the Parlement of Paris solemnly registered " the declaration of innocence of *Monsieur le Prince*,"† who was restored to all his offices and dignities. His three years' captivity, which cannot be said to have been altogether undeserved, had worked a great change in the character of Condé. Like so many others, he had learned wisdom from adversity ; and henceforth the King had no more loyal servant, his Ministers no stauncher supporter, than the first Prince of the Blood. His enemies have accused him, and with too much reason, of servility towards those in power, and of an excessive regard for his own interests, particularly where money was concerned ; but, on the whole, the line of conduct he pursued seems to have been patriotic as well as prudent.

Two years after the prince's release from Vincennes, on September 2, 1621, his wife bore him a son, Louis, Duc d'Enghien, who was to confer so much lustre on the name of Condé ; and in 1629 a second son was born to them, Armand, Prince de Conti.

* The Château of Vincennes is frequently spoken of by contemporary writers as the Bois de Vincennes.

† In the preamble of this document, Louis XIII. strove to throw the responsibility for his cousin's long detention upon Marie de' Medici and her adherents, although the real reason seems to have been the fears of the reigning favourite, the Duc de Luynes, lest Condé should attempt to dispute his ascendency over the feeble King. " Being informed," said his Majesty, " of the reason by which his detention has been excused, I have found that there was no cause, save the machinations and evil designs of his enemies, who desired to join the ruin of my State to that of my cousin."

CHAPTER II

MLLE. DE BOURBON AND THE CARMELITES

VOLTAIRE has observed that the sole claim of the third Prince de Condé to remembrance, is that he begat one of France's most famous generals. To be just, he should have added that the claim is a twofold one, inasmuch as not only was he the father of the Great Condé, but gave him one of the most thorough military educations that prince ever received, and but for which, though his fiery valour would doubtless have gained him some distinction in the field, it is scarcely probable that he would ever have earned the title of "*le Grand.*"

As a child, the future hero of Rocroi and Nördlingen was fragile and sickly, which furnished *Monsieur le Prince* with an excellent excuse for removing him from Paris and his mother's influence to the Château of Montrond, near the town of Saint-Amand, in his government of Berry, where he placed him under the care of some intelligent women of the middle class, who could be trusted to carry out his instructions with unquestioning obedience.

In the pure country air the boy's health steadily improved, while his intelligence was quickly perceived to be far in advance of his years. No sooner did he begin to speak than he displayed a remarkable strength of will, and his nurses found it no easy task to persuade him to rise, go to bed, or take his meals at the hours which they considered best for him.

On May 2, 1626, the little prince, who assumed from that day the title of Duc d'Enghien,* was taken to Bourges to be baptized; but, save on this occasion, he was never permitted to leave Montrond, where he led a healthy outdoor life, the lessons he received being frequently imparted under the guise of games, so as to tax his mind as little as possible, while leaving the most pleasant impression. He made astonishing progress, particularly in Latin, and quickly began to evince the keenest interest

* Enghien is the modern spelling; in the seventeenth century it was written Anguien.

in military matters, the result of conversations with a distinguished engineer named Sarrasin, who was then engaged in repairing the defences of Montrond, and who superintended the boy's amusements. "When, towards the end of the year 1629," says the Duc d'Aumale, "the Prince de Condé, returning from Languedoc, stopped at his Berry fortress, his suite beheld with some surprise a young captain of seven, who ranged in order of battle, in the trenches of the château, the children of the neighbouring town of Saint-Amand, evoked the heroes of ancient Rome and harangued them in Latin."*

At the close of the following year, Condé removed his son from Montrond to Bourges, to continue his studies at the Jesuit College of Sainte-Marie, one of the most celebrated of the schools which the Fathers had established in France.

The only distinction which was made between him and the other pupils was a little gilded balustrade which encircled his chair, and, by *Monsieur le Prince's* orders, his schoolfellows were strictly forbidden to give way to him either in class or at play. Condé himself, who, as Governor of Berry, resided part of each year at Bourges, watched over and directed the education of his son, examined his compositions and the notes which he took at lectures, and made him dance and play tennis before him. When absent at the Court or with the army, he corresponded regularly with the boy, and, the better to judge of his progress, he directed him, after he was eight years old, always to write to him in Latin. *Gouverneur*, tutor, and doctor were kept busy replying to the letters full of questions, instructions, and recommendations with which the anxious father bombarded them; while the rector of the Jesuit college was perpetually being enjoined "to pay attention to the studies and conduct of my son."

The instructions which the prince sent show him to have been particularly jealous of any interference on the part of *Madame la Princesse*. "If my wife comes to Bourges," he writes on one occasion, "she must be informed of the hours that I have appointed for his studies; her visits must be paid at other times."†

The progress made by the Duc d'Enghien delighted his

* *Histoire des Princes de Condé.*

† Letter of August 5, 1631, cited by the Duc d'Aumale.

instructors, and must have satisfied even *Monsieur le Prince.* At twelve years of age, when he finished his course of rhetoric, such was his proficiency in Latin that he wrote and spoke it, we are told, as though it were his mother tongue. The next two years were devoted to the study of philosophy and the sciences, which latter term included logic, ethics, metaphysics, mathematics, and physics; and at the end of each course the young duke sustained publicly some disputations, which his proud father subsequently caused to be printed and distributed among the Ministers, the principal magistrates in Paris and in the provinces, and even at Rome. Like a good courtier, he made his son dedicate his first thesis to Richelieu and his second to the King.

Although the boy had already received an education far in advance of that which was then considered sufficient for the son of a *grand seigneur,* the Prince de Condé was not yet content, and accordingly arranged that he should go through a course of law under the direction of Merille, Professor of Jurisprudence in the University of Bourges.

The vacations were passed at Montrond, to which the young prince was permitted to invite some of his schoolfellows. But his tutor and certain masters came also, and his studies were by no means suspended, though physical training—lessons in dancing, fencing, and riding —received the larger share of attention.

At the end of the year 1635, Condé judged that the time had come for his son to lay aside the scholar's gown, and accordingly the Duc d'Enghien bade farewell to the Jesuits of Bourges and set out for Paris, where, in January, 1636, he made his first bow to Louis XIII. Immediately after his presentation to the King the young duke proceeded to Saint-Maur, to visit his mother, whom he had seen but seldom since he was a child. In the middle of February, he set out for Dijon to join his father, who had lately added the government of Burgundy to that of Berry, and remained there until the beginning of the following year. He then returned to Paris and entered the famous "Académie royale pour la jeune noblesse," established some years previously by a retired officer of the army named Benjamin, and recently transformed into a kind of military school under the protection of Louis XIII. and Richelieu. Here he was taught everything which concerned the profession of arms: geography, mathematics,

fortification, drawing, fencing, horsemanship and other military exercises, being treated, by his father's wishes, in every respect as the other young noblemen, several of whom became his close friends, and in after years shared his labours and his fame.

After twelve months of earnest work, varied by short visits to Saint-Maur and a few appearances at the Court and in society, the duke quitted Benjamin's academy, and in the spring of 1638, the Prince de Condé having been called to the command of the army in Guienne, Louis XIII. entrusted him with the government of Burgundy during his father's absence.

It was a very striking-looking, as well as a very learned, young man who, one fine April morning, took his seat in the Parlement of Dijon, "with every honour and testimony of affection possible." "His eyes," writes a contemporary, "were blue and full of vivacity, his nose was aquiline, his mouth very disagreeable from being very large, and his teeth too prominent. But in his countenance generally there was something great and haughty, somewhat resembling an eagle. He was not very tall, but his figure was admirably well proportioned. He danced well, had a pleasant expression, a noble air, and a very fine head."*

Unhappily for the Duc d'Enghien and for France, his father and his teachers, while sparing no pains to develop his talents and to strengthen his body, had not succeeded in correcting certain grave defects of character, which, as he grew older, were to become more pronounced and to end by tarnishing his fame. The lad was fearlessly brave, open-handed, quick-witted, and full of energy and determination. But he was haughty and over-bearing, thoroughly selfish, and supremely indifferent to the sufferings or susceptibilities of others, when he had ends of his own to serve.

Such was the education of the brother. That of the sister was, of course, conducted on very different lines. Of the purely intellectual part of it we, unfortunately, know little or nothing. Her eulogistic eighteenth-century biographer, Bourgoing de Villefore, assures us that it was "entrusted to very capable persons, who recognized from her earliest infancy that there was little for them to do, since they confined themselves to directing the dispositions

* Madame de Motteville, *Mémoires*.

of Nature, which had spared them much trouble with their pupil."*

It would perhaps have been as well had these capable persons been a trifle less complaisant, for though Mlle. de Bourbon had certainly gifts of a very high order, and early imbibed literary tastes, which, combined with her beauty and the charm of her conversation, were to give her so enviable a position in the intellectual society of her time, to judge by her letters, the groundwork of her education must have been very superficial. Not only is her orthography rather curious—a fault, however, which she shares with nearly all the great ladies of her age, and even with some of the lesser lights of contemporary literature—but her grammar is often incorrect, and her style diffuse.

On the other hand, her moral training seems to have been as thorough as the most ardent of *dévots* could have desired. Nor is there any thing very singular in this, since the first half of the seventeenth century was a period of remarkable religious activity, when the most extravagant devotion might be seen existing side by side with an extreme laxity of morals. "It was the time," observes Victor Cousin, "when the religious spirit, after having overflowed in the civil wars and given birth to the great crimes and great virtues of the League, purified, but not enfeebled, by the Edict of Nantes and the policy of Henri IV., derived from peace new strength. It was covering France no longer with parties armed against each other, but with pious institutions, to which weary souls hastened, to seek an asylum. On all sides the old Orders were rejuvenated and new ones founded. Richelieu had courageously undertaken the reform of the clergy, and had created seminaries, and over them, as their model and their tribunal, had raised the Sorbonne. Bérulle instituted the Oratory; César de Bus the Christian Doctrine. The Jesuits, founded in the middle of the sixteenth century, and who had so quickly spread over France, for a moment discredited and even banished for their participation in culpable excesses, were gradually restored to favour, under the protection of the immense services which their skill and heroism rendered every day, beyond the ocean, to Christianity and civilization. The

* *La Véritable Vie d'Anne-Geneviève de Bourbon, Duchesse de Longueville* (Amsterdam, 1738).

Order of St. Benedict was tempered by a salutary reform, and the Benedictines of Saint-Maur commenced their gigantic labours."*

But nowhere was this activity more marked than in the institutions destined for the reception of devout women, which the religious fervour of the time caused to spring up throughout the length and breadth of France. Apart from Port-Royal, the two most celebrated are the Sœurs de la Charité, founded about 1640, and the Reformed Carmelites, who were introduced into France in the early years of the seventeenth century, and whose growth was so rapid that by the end of the year 1617 their convents numbered nearly a score.

At the time of which we are speaking the Carmelites possessed two convents in Paris. The principal one, known as the "*Grandes Carmélites*," which had been constructed for their Order in 1604, by Catherine d'Orléans, daughter of Léonor d'Orléans, was situated in the Faubourg Saint-Jacques, near the Val-de-Grâce; the other, known as the "*Petites Carmélites*," was in the Rue Chapon.

Mlle. de Bourbon's mother, the Princesse de Condé, was one of the chief benefactresses of the convent in the Rue Saint-Jacques. The character of *Madame la Princesse* abounded in contrasts; it was a strange compound of worldliness and piety, pride and affability, coquetry and prudishness. She had never loved her husband, and yet for his sake had voluntarily hidden her youth and loveliness for more than two years behind the walls of the Bastille and Vincennes. She was exceedingly vain of her great beauty and delighted in making conquests, but conducted her flirtations with such discretion that her fair fame was never seriously assailed.† Her haughtiness, if she suspected any one of failing in respect towards her, knew no bounds; but to those who were willing to accord

* *La Jeunesse de Madame de Longueville.*

† "The Princesse de Condé was always much concerned about the love-affairs of herself and others. I heard her remark one day, when she was jesting with the Queen (Anne of Austria) about her past adventures, speaking of Cardinal Pamphili, who had just been made Pope, that she wished her old friend Cardinal Bentivoglio had been elected instead, so that she might be able to boast of lovers of all conditions: popes, kings, cardinals, princes, dukes, marshals of France, and even simple gentlemen." —Madame de Motteville, *Memoires.*

Historians with a weakness for the picturesque have taken the chronicler's words to imply that *Madame la Princesse* had been exceedingly gallant, an interpretation which will certainly not bear inspection. By lovers, Madame de Motteville means merely admirers, or "*mourants*," as they were called in those days, though Henri IV. and doubtless others of the lady's conquests had ulterior designs.

her the deference she considered to be her due no one could be more amiable and charming. Her piety, when the devotional side of her character was uppermost, was profound. She had, like Anne of Austria, an apartment at the Carmelites, to which she frequently came to make long retreats. This apartment was as bare and cheerless as those of the nuns themselves ; in fact, Madame de Condé prided herself on observing the rules of the convent in all their severity. "This great princess, whom a natural pride rendered sometimes so formidable, became here the friend, the companion, the mother of whoever addressed herself to her. Never did one feel her authority there, except by her benefactions. The will of the Mother-Prioress was her law ; she called her 'our mother,' rose when she perceived her, submitted to her orders with a charming docility, and one saw her at matins, at every office, in the refectory, practise the usual mortifications, and abase her natural grandeur at the feet of the spouse of Jesus Christ, with a humility which rendered her still more estimable."

In these retreats Madame de Condé was invariably accompanied by her daughter, for, although the princess cherished very ambitious views for Anne, she knew, from her own experience, the perils to which unusual beauty exposed its possessor, and desired to arm the young girl against them by giving her every opportunity of benefiting by the example and edifying conversation of the nuns. Her frequent sojourns among the Carmelites soon began to have a very marked effect upon Mlle. de Bourbon's impressionable mind, and she exhibited a piety which exceeded her mother's fondest anticipations. Desiring, like *Madame la Princesse*, to become, in her turn, one of the benefactresses of the convent, she obtained from the Pope "relics of seven virgin martyrs, with a brief from his Holiness attesting their authenticity," and presented them to the nuns. Touched by this pious act, Anne of Austria added to the relics those of St. Paula, the friend of St. Jerome, while the Marquis d'Alincourt offered the body of St. Rosalia, which had recently been discovered at Palermo. All these relics were placed by Mlle. de Bourbon in a silver shrine in the form of a dome, around which were stationed four figures representing the Evangelists.*

* Manuscript history of the Carmelites, cited by Victor Cousin.

Mlle. de Bourbon's piety increased daily, and at length her admiration for the ascetic beauty of the lives of her friends in the Rue Saint-Jacques became so strong that she began to contemplate very seriously becoming a Carmelite herself. M. Jules Lair, in his interesting work on Louise de la Vallière,* has described in some detail the daily life of the "*Grand Couvent*," and the following passage will give the reader an excellent idea of the kind of career upon which this youthful *dévote* proposed to embark:

"All the cells are alike. Those of the convent of the Rue d'Enfer had been constructed in accordance with the plans sent from Spain. Four walls quite bare, a door, a window. For furniture, a wooden box shaped like a coffin, containing a straw mattress, hard and prickly; serge sheets. By its side, a straw-bottomed chair. For ornament, a crucifix, one or two images. The regulations forbade private property. In the refectory, the same simplicity—a wooden spoon, an earthenware porringer, a little Delft cup. Fare in proportion, always meagre: milk, cheese, vegetables; on special occasions, fish. They rose early, at five o'clock in the morning; they retired to rest late, at eleven o'clock; and, throughout this long day, prioress, nuns, novices, and probationers, all worked. These last, spared but little, are soon in a position to know if the life suits them. It only remains for them to make acquaintance with the dress: serge chemise, thick cloth stockings, *alpurgates*—a kind of heelless shoe made of cord—serge gown. For coiffure a head-band and a veil."

Mlle. de Bourbon, however, was still too young to fully appreciate the measure of self-abnegation which a life such as this demanded; and a tragic event, which occurred when she was thirteen years of age, and plunged her mother and all the Montmorencies into the deepest grief, made a most profound impression upon her mind, and confirmed her in her desire to fly from a world which she as yet scarcely knew.

This tragic event was the execution for high treason of her uncle Henri II., Duc de Montmorency, "the noblest, wealthiest and handsomest and most pious gentleman in the Kingdom." During the religious wars of 1621 and the following years, the duke had commanded the Royalist forces in the South, and with such success that his services were rewarded with the marshal's bâton. But in 1630,

* *Louise de la Vallière et la jeunesse de Louis XIV.*

offended by the growing power of Richelieu, he quitted the Court, and two years later, notwithstanding the endeavours of his noble and devoted wife, Maria Felicia Orsini to dissuade him, took up arms against the Government. At the battle of Castelnaudary, charging rashly upon the royal troops at the head of a small body of cavalry, he was unhorsed and taken prisoner. Extraordinary efforts were made to save him, but Richelieu was determined to read the turbulent nobility a salutary lesson, and to show them that neither past services, nor high rank, nor great possessions should save those who took up arms from the executioner's axe, and on October 29, 1632, Montmorency was brought to trial before the Parlement of Toulouse. So far from making the least attempt to justify his conduct, he sought only to exculpate his followers, declaring that he alone ought to bear all the responsibility. Next morning the judges pronounced sentence of death, and the execution was fixed for four o'clock that afternoon in the prison, it having been decided to spare the condemned man the ignominy of a public execution.

The duke met his death with calm resignation and Christian fortitude. After hearing his sentence, he begged that the time of his execution might be hastened by two hours, in order that he might die at the same hour as his Saviour, and he then wrote a touching letter of farewell to his wife :

" I bid you the last adieu, dear heart, with an affection equal to that which has always existed between us. I beseech you by the repose of my soul, which, I hope, will soon be in heaven, to moderate your grief and to receive this affliction from the hand of our sweet Saviour. I receive so many favours from His bounty that you ought to have every reason for consolation. Adieu, once more, dear heart."

As a proof that he died with no feeling of resentment against Richelieu, Montmorency bequeathed to the Cardinal a picture of the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian.

The widowed duchess was inconsolable at the loss of her husband and " fell into an abyss of grief." Unjustly accused of having encouraged the duke in his rebellion, she was thrown into prison, where, under the pressure of her misfortunes, her health gave way. However, after a detention of two years, she was released, and took advantage of her liberty to retire to the Couvent de la Visitation,

at Moulins, whither she caused the remains of Montmorency to be brought and interred in a mausoleum, which may still be seen in the convent chapel. After leading the austere life of a nun for thirty-four years, she died, and was buried by the side of the husband she had loved so devotedly.

By a will made shortly before his death, the Duc de Montmorency, who left no children, had designated as heir to the greater part of his immense estates the little François de Montmorency-Boutteville, afterwards the celebrated Maréchal de Luxembourg, the posthumous son of the Comte de Boutteville, executed for duelling in 1627. But the duke's condemnation rendered this document of no effect, and the whole of his property reverted to the Crown. Louis XIII., however, contented himself with retaining possession of Chantilly and Dammartin, for the sake of the hunting, without, however, uniting them to his demesne, and caused the rest of the property to be divided between the Princesse de Condé and her two elder sisters, Charlotte, Duchesse d'Angoulême and Marguerite, Duchesse de Ventadour, Richelieu, we may presume, not being minded to set up another great feudal noble in the place of the deceased duke.

To *Madame la Princesse* fell by far the largest share of the landed property, including the estates of Montrond, Écouen, Mello, Châteauroux, and Méru; while, some time afterwards, Chantilly and Dammartin were also bestowed upon her, though she appears to have been granted merely the enjoyment of them during her lifetime, and it was not until the autumn of 1643 that they became the absolute property of the Condés, in recognition of the military services of the Duc d'Enghien.

The Carmelites, as we may suppose, did not fail to take advantage of the effect produced on Mlle. de Bourbon's mind by the terrible fate of her much-loved uncle, and used every endeavour to strengthen her in a resolution which they naturally regarded as a signal example of the grace of God; their efforts in this direction being ably seconded by the young princess's confessor, Père Le Jeune, a Jesuit, "of an eminent piety and of an ardent zeal for the salvation of souls."* But it was in vain that Anne addressed the most earnest entreaties to her father to

* Bourgoing de Villefore, *la Véritable Vie d'Anne-Geneviève de Bourbon, Duchesse de Longueville.*

permit her to dedicate herself to Heaven. *Monsieur le Prince*, who had very different views for his only daughter, was highly indignant and complained to his wife, who was equally shocked. To visit the good sisters of the Rue Saint-Jacques, and to endeavour to profit by their noble example and godly conversation, was one thing ; to desire to become a member of their community was quite another. It was fitting enough that weary or penitent souls, who had tasted all that the world had to offer, should seek the repose and peace denied them elsewhere within the walls of a convent, or that plain-featured or portionless young women of noble families should discover a vocation for the religious life. It was even as well that society should occasionally be edified by such a sacrifice as that of Mlle. Lancri de Bains. But the only daughter of the first Prince of the Blood, a young girl on the very threshold of life, endowed with every advantage which Nature and Fortune had to bestow! The idea was preposterous and was not to be entertained for a moment!

Nevertheless, the princess and her husband were fully alive to the necessity of breaking the charm which attached Anne to the Carmelites, and, with this object, they resolved to compel her to go more frequently into society. The girl obeyed ; but in spirit she was ever with her pious friends of the "*Grand Couvent*," and she appeared so sad and listless that the impression she created was not nearly so favourable as her mother had hoped, and Madame de Condé felt obliged to reprimand her sharply for the little trouble she took to make herself agreeable. To which the girl replied : "You possess, Madame, charms so irresistible that, as I go nowhere except with you, and only appear after you, people cannot see any in me."*

This diplomatic answer disarmed for the moment the wrath of *Madame la Princesse*, who liked nothing better than to be reminded that the charms which had turned the head of the "*Vert-Galant*" a quarter of a century earlier, were still potent ; but, since, as time went on, her daughter's vocation seemed to grow stronger rather than weaker, and she began to evince a marked distaste for society, she finally determined to have recourse to more stringent measures.

* Bourgoing de Villefore, *la Véritable Vie d'Anne-Geneviève de Bourbon, Duchesse de Longueville.*

Hitherto Anne's acquaintance with the gay world had been confined to occasionally accompanying her mother to the houses of her friends or assisting her do the honours of the Hôtel de Condé, and she had never assisted at any Court function. But, one fine morning, when she was in her sixteenth year, *Madame la Princesse* sent for her, and bade her prepare to attend a State ball at the Louvre, which Louis XIII. was giving three days later.

The maternal command threw our young ascetic into the most profound consternation. "Her first movement," says Villefore, "was to go and tell the news to her good friends, the Carmelites, who were very much afflicted thereby and greatly embarrassed, for she asked their advice as to her conduct in so difficult a conjuncture. A council was held in due form, over which presided, in the garb of nuns, two excellent virtues, Penitence and Prudence, and it was resolved that Mlle. de Bourbon, before going to the assault, should arm herself under her clothing with a little cuirass, vulgarly called a hair-shirt, and that she should then lend herself, in good faith, to all the finery that was designed for her. So soon as her consent had been obtained, everything was resorted to that could most enliven her natural charms, and nothing was forgotten to adorn a beauty more brilliant by force of its own loveliness than by all the jewels with which it was loaded. The Carmelites had recommended her to be on her guard, but her self-confidence misled her. The moment she entered the ball-room, and so long as she remained there, the company had no eyes save for her. Admirers flocked around her, and vied with one another in lavishing upon her those subtle compliments which make so ready an appeal to a self-love newly kindled and suspicious of nothing. After the jargon of flattery had overleapt the barriers opposed to it, it had soon poisoned that still ingenuous mind, in which it made strange ravages; and the young princess, on leaving the ball, felt her heart agitated by new emotions, which at first alarmed her, but with which she gradually became only too familiar."

A modern copy of a painting by Du Cayer, of the year 1634, which is preserved at Versailles, representing Mlle. de Bourbon standing between her father and mother, will help us to understand something of the enthusiasm which this young *débutante* must have aroused. In the opinion of Victor Cousin, however, it is very much inferior to the

original portrait, which is in the possession of the Montmorency family, and of which he writes: "She is here seen in all the freshness of her maiden beauty, but already in Court attire, and as if going to that ball which she so much dreaded, and which changed her soul and her life. It is impossible to imagine a more charming creature. The eyes, full of innocence, have already a tender animation, which will soon become dangerous. The nose is, in particular, adorably moulded. All the signs of her great beauty are already visible; certain attractions are still wanting, but the strength which promises and assures them is stamped upon every part."*

From the night of the ball, Anne de Bourbon was an altered being. She had tasted worldly success and found it passing sweet, and, though she still preserved her piety, she was henceforth as eager to play a leading part on the stage which she felt herself so eminently fitted to adorn as her parents could possibly have desired. Her visits to the Carmelites continued, but they were now prompted more by courtesy and by a natural reluctance to break too abruptly with early associations than by inclination; she was frequently embarrassed and ill at ease when the good sisters attempted to turn the conversation to subjects in which she had formerly taken so keen a pleasure, and they saw with sorrow and mortification that their influence over her was steadily waning. Nevertheless, the combat between her religious and her worldly instincts was a long and severe one, and the triumph of the latter more apparent than real. Even at moments when she seemed most to have abandoned herself to the allurements of passion and ambition, she still frequently addressed to the Carmelites letters couched in a tone of the most fervent piety. Nor, as Victor Cousin justly observes, is there any reason to doubt that she was on these occasions expressing sentiments that were really in her heart, although she lacked the strength to follow them. The deep religious impressions of her early days, the instincts of self-sacrifice and idealism which lay at the root of her character, though often quenched, were never wholly extinguished. Twenty years hence they were to revive and to burn with undiminished vigour to the end of her days. But alas! not before she had succeeded in working an amount of mischief which is, happily, within the power of few of her sex.

* *La Jeunesse de Madame de Longueville.*

CHAPTER III

MLLE. DE BOURBON AND THE HÔTEL DE RAMBOUILLET

FROM the cloister to the world the transition was great, though not nearly so great as would have been the case had Mlle. de Bourbon been born a quarter of a century earlier. Since the accession of Louis XIII. a notable and very welcome change had come over society. To the barbarism of the civil wars, and the extreme license of morals which had disgraced the Court of Henri IV., had succeeded a marked taste for intellectual pursuits and refined pleasures. This revolution was largely inspired by Richelieu, who, though his genius was essentially political, was eager for distinction in almost every sphere; to have his pre-eminence acknowledged as readily in society and in the rendezvous of men of letters as in the council-chamber; to be, in short, the arbiter of his country's taste as well as of its destinies.

Under his protection, the "things of the mind" began to assume an importance which had never before been known; birth and position were still as highly esteemed as ever, but they no longer constituted the sole passports to aristocratic society, and at the houses of several great ladies it gradually became the custom for men of wit, culture, and refinement, without regard to their social status, to meet together to pass an hour or two in agreeable conversation with amiable women of similar tastes, who naturally gave the tone to these gatherings.

The most celebrated of these resorts, of which Mlle. de Bourbon soon became a constant *habituée*, was the Hôtel de Rambouillet*—which may be regarded as the prototype of that most distinctively French institution, the Salon—wherein the art of polite conversation was so carefully cultivated, and which exercised so great an influence upon literature and manners from the early part of the seventeenth down to the middle of the nineteenth century. The presiding genius, Catherine de Vivonne, Marquise de

* In the Rue Saint-Thomas-du-Louvre, next to the Hôtel de Chevreuse, which, after being known as the Hôtel d'Épernon, became, in 1663, the Hôtel de Longueville.

Rambouillet, was a very remarkable woman. The only daughter of Jean de Vivonne, Marquis de Pisani, French Ambassador at Madrid and at Rome, and at one time *gouverneur* to Henri II. de Bourbon, Prince de Condé, and of Julie Savelli, a Roman lady of high rank, widow of Lorenzo Orsini, she had married, in 1600, before she was in her teens, Charles d'Angennes, Marquis de Rambouillet, Seigneur de Talmont and d'Arquenay, a nobleman of considerable wealth and respectable abilities, who was successively Master of the Wardrobe and *Chevalier des Ordres* to Henri IV., and Ambassador to the Courts of Savoy and Spain. All contemporary writers, not omitting even Tallemant des Réaux, the most spiteful of all seventeenth-century chroniclers, vie with one another in extolling the merits of Madame de Rambouillet: her beauty enhanced by an irreproachable virtue, her exquisite taste, the soundness of her literary judgment, her devotion to things intellectual, her wonderful tact, which placed every one who came in contact with her immediately at their ease, her kindness of heart, and her ready but perfectly harmless wit.

The troubled and corrupt Court, with its sordid intrigues and vulgar gallantry, was but little to the taste of a woman like Madame de Rambouillet, and this, joined to her delicate health, caused her, while still very young, to withdraw from it altogether, and to receive her friends in her own house. But the spirit of conversation, as Arvède Barine remarks, is too frail a plant to flourish among haphazard conditions, and to bring talkers together, it is essential to have a place in which they can talk;* and, since the interior arrangement of the Hôtel de Rambouillet was but ill adapted for social gatherings, the marchioness had the whole house pulled down and a new one built, according to plans which she herself drew up.

In this beautiful house—the first, in all probability, ever constructed with a like purpose—the staircases were placed in the wings, which permitted a number of rooms to be contrived in such a way that one led out of another, an arrangement eminently suitable for large assemblies.† The principal reception-room was the celebrated "*Chambre bleue*," the decoration of which was in itself an innovation.

* *La Jeunesse de la Grande Mademoiselle.*

† Madame de Rambouillet was not long in finding imitators, notably in the construction of the Luxembourg by Marie de' Medici.

Hitherto almost the only colour employed in the decoration of the houses of the wealthy had been red or a dark orange; but Madame de Rambouillet caused the walls of her salon to be covered with blue velvet, with a border of gold embroidery. The room was lighted by long windows, extending from floor to ceiling, which looked out upon a large and very beautiful expanse of garden.

Every evening, for more than thirty years, the Hôtel de Rambouillet opened its doors to the most refined and intellectual persons of both Court and town: nobles, clergy, magistrates, and men of letters, together with some of the most charming and cultured women in France. All met here on a footing of perfect equality; every subject of conversation which could possibly give offence was strictly interdicted, and the voice of scandal was never heard. No greater difference than that between the assemblies of the Louvre and the gatherings which thronged the "*Chambre bleue*" can well be imagined. "Society and the Court," remarks Rœderer, "were two different worlds, where even the same persons could no longer be recognized so soon as they passed from one to the other. The cloister and the world were not more distinct. On entering the Hôtel de Rambouillet, politics and intrigues were left at the door; there reigned there only that noble and gracious gallantry, which, without any cost to virtue, constituted the charm and sweetness of human life. Court was paid to the ladies, but it was a court playful and respectful. The greater the disorder and corruption of the Louvre, the greater the popularity and success of the Hôtel de Rambouillet."*

The salon of Madame de Rambouillet was the stronghold of that remarkable and much-misunderstood characteristic of the intellectual life of the first half of the seventeenth century, the "*genre précieux;*" but it is an error to imagine that it originated there. As M. du Bled has pointed out, "*Préciosité*" had existed long before the Hôtel de Rambouillet brought it into fashion. It had found devotees in the preceding century, in Maurice Scève, Ronsard, the poets of the Pléiade; the dissertations of *Amadis* and *l'Astrée* furnish numerous examples of its influence; the cult was even not unknown in Greece and in Rome. "One forgets," he continues, "that languages begin with simplicity, and, by a natural evolution,

* *Histoire de Société polie.*

through the need of expressing new sentiments, arrive at the cultured style, which glides so easily into affectation."*

There was, however, little affectation about Madame de Rambouillet; "her "*préciosité*" was of a very modest kind, consisting merely of an excessive delicacy in her conversation,† and the services rendered by her salon to the national taste during thirty years are incontestable. But by the beginning of the Fronde the good which it was able to do had been accomplished. The inferior gatherings which had been formed in Paris and in the provinces, at first useful, since they diffused the taste for culture, had ended by becoming dangerous; the noble ideas and sentiments which Madame de Rambouillet and her friends had so carefully fostered, degenerated into a fictitious grandeur; affectation took the place of simplicity.‡ And alas! so often does the master suffer for the extravagance of his self-styled disciples, that many still confound the brilliant and charming women who foregathered in the "*Chambre bleue*," with their crude imitators, whom Molière so mercilessly castigated in the *Précieuses ridicules*.

But, in 1635, when Mlle. de Bourbon first made its acquaintance, the Hôtel de Rambouillet was at the height of its fame, the magnet which attracted all that was best in the intellectual life of the capital, the centre from which radiated in all directions those ideas of culture and refinement, which purified and enriched the language, elevated the tone of conversation, and produced those polished manners, that exquisite taste, which was to make France the envy and admiration of the whole civilized world. Here might be found the Prince and Princesse de Condé, with their two elder children, Mlle. de Bourbon and the Duc d'Enghien, ignoring the fact that strict etiquette forbade the Princes and Princesses of the Blood to visit a lady below the rank of duchess; the great Cardinal himself and his favourite niece, the Duchesse d'Aiguillon; another Prince of the Church, the Cardinal de la Valette; the austere Marquis, afterwards the Duc, de Montausier,

* *La Société française du XVIe siècle au XXe siècle*, 1re *Série*; *l'Hôtel de Rambouillet et la Préciosité*.

† Tallemant des Réaux declares that it was impossible to pronounce in Madame de Rambouillet's presence certain words of which Molière made free use in his plays. "That is going too far," adds he.

‡ Victor Cousin, *la Jeunesse de Madame de Longueville*.

the future husband of Madame de Rambouillet's eldest daughter, Julie d'Angennes; the celebrated Marquise de Sablé, "the type of the true *précieuse*," of whom more anon; Mlle. du Vigean, beloved of the Great Condé; the Comte de Guiche, afterwards the Maréchal de Gramont; Mlle. de Scudéry, the authoress of that interminable romance, *le Grand Cyrus*, now almost unread, but, which, thanks to Victor Cousin's discovery of a key to its characters, is a work of the greatest interest and value for the student of seventeenth-century society; her brother, Georges de Scudéry, the author of *Alaric*, and his wife, whose correspondence with Bussy-Rabutin has given her a place among the most accomplished letter-writers of her time; Arnauld de Corberville, one of the best lieutenants of the Great Condé, and an amateur poet of some talent, whom Madame de Rambouillet usually employed to respond to the epistles in verse which were addressed to her from all sides; Mlle. Paulet, whose Venetian-blond hair had earned her the soubriquet of "*la lionne*," celebrated for her beautiful voice, her graceful dancing, and her wit, even more than for her charms, which had inspired a brief, though very ardent, passion in Henri IV.—a passion, however, which the lady had the good sense not to encourage; and the two daughters of the hostess who had preferred the world to the cloister: Julie, who was to become Duchesse de Montausier, immortalized by that famous *Guirlande de Julie*, a collection of poems on different flowers, to which nearly all the leading poets of the day contributed, presented to her by her future husband; and Angélique, first wife of the Comte de Grignan, who, on her death, married Madame de Sévigné's idolized daughter. The former was a brilliantly clever and very handsome girl, with a superb figure and charming manners, who ably seconded her mother in doing the honours of the house; the latter, also pretty and accomplished, but possessed of a decidedly mordant wit, and priding herself on a fastidiousness which she carried to such lengths, that Mlle. de Scudéry declares that "it was impossible for her to be altogether happy even for a single day in the year." The two sisters represented the pedantic side of their mother's salon, and it was through them that "*Préciosité*" made its entry into the Hôtel de Rambouillet.

And then the *élite* of the "Republic of Letters": Conrart, who may be regarded as the father of the

Académie Française,* racked with gout, but always amiable and witty; his cousin, the little Abbé Godeau, afterwards Bishop of Grasse and Vence, but at this time with no thought of the episcopate, and quite content to be known as "Julie's dwarf"—a very gallant dwarf indeed—"with Dulcineas all over the country awaiting his good pleasure:" Chapelain, the author of that hapless epic *la Pucelle;* Ménage, to whose tuition both Madame de Sévigné and Madame de la Fayette owed so much; Gombaud and Patru; Racan and Sarrasin; Corneille and Voiture.†

The two last are by far the most celebrated names among the group of men of letters which frequented the Hôtel de Rambouillet. To the judgment of its habitués, Corneille submitted several of his plays before sending them to the Hôtel de Bourgogne; and the company upheld the *Cid* loyally against Richelieu, though, on the other hand, it fell into a grievous error in condemning *Polyeucte*. Voiture, who was deputed to convey to Corneille the opinion of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, told him that "its Christianity had especially given great offence;" and Corneille, alarmed by the disapproval of so high a tribunal, resolved to withdraw his play, and only consented to its representation at the urgent entreaty of Hauteroche, one of the actors of the Hôtel de Bourgogne, "who," says Fontenelle, "did not play in it, because he was so bad a performer."‡

The romantically inclined ladies who visited the Hôtel de Rambouillet must have experienced something like a shock when Corneille first appeared among them. They had doubtless pictured to themselves a poet *à la* Scudéry, a handsome cavalier of courtly manners and agreeable conversation, whereas the famous dramatist's general appearance and manners were far from calculated to please. Though possessed of a fine intellectual countenance, he was below the middle height, shy and reserved, awkward in demeanour, uncouth in speech, negligent in his dress,

* It was at Conrart's house that the little company of men of letters, which, in 1634, became, under Richelieu's auspices, the nucleus of the Académie Française, used to hold its meetings.

† Victor Cousin and most writers mention Balzac as among the habitués of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, but, according to Arvède Barine (*la Jeunesse de la Grande Mademoiselle*), Balzac only knew the "divine Arthénice" by letter.

‡ *Vie de Corneille.*

and of a somewhat morose temper. Corneille himself confesses that :

> En matière d'amour, je suis fort inégal :
> J'en écris assez bien, et je fais assez mal ;
> J'ai la plume féconde et la bouche stérile,
> Bon galant au théâtre et fort mauvais en ville.
> Et l'on peut rarement m'écouter sans ennui,
> Que quand je me produis par la bouche d'autrui.

Nevertheless, he was at small pains to correct his faults, and when some friend more candid than the rest ventured to hint at them, would reply : "*Je n'en suis pas moins pour cela*, Pierre Corneille." Moreover, though he admits that his defective utterance, when he recited himself, quite spoiled the effect of his finest passages, this did not prevent him from inflicting whole acts from any play which he happened to have in preparation upon the company. "*Cadédis !*" exclaimed Bois-Robert, when reproached by Corneille for an adverse criticism of one of his earlier pieces at the Hôtel de Bourgogne. "Did not I applaud it when you blurted it out in my presence ?"*

Voiture was a very different kind of person. Of diminutive stature—he was commonly spoken of as "*le petit* Voiture"—though well made and always dressed in the best taste, with an inexhaustible fund of gaiety and wit, he was the life and soul of these gatherings. Few poets have equalled him in the composition of those *vers de société*, for which the French language is so well adapted, and which, if they serve no higher purpose, seldom fail, when well written, to afford amusement and pleasure ; none, probably, in the amazing facility with which he dashed off his sonnets and madrigals.† It was his office to be the cavalier, the lover, or, as they then said, the *mourant*, of all the beauties of his time, and he described their charms in language which called forth protests even from the objects of his adulation. "M. de Voiture," observed one of them, "ought to be preserved in sugar."

* Hawkins, "Annals of the French Stage." La Bruyère tells us that, besides not being able to recite, Corneille could not read his own writing.

† His talent for improvisation was remarkable. One day, Anne of Austria, coming upon him in a somewhat contemplative mood, in the gardens of Rueil, inquired of what he was thinking ; and Voiture replied in some charming and audacious verses, in which the name of Buckingham occurred.

Voiture was the licensed jester of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, from which practical jokes of a mild kind were by no means excluded. In 1632, during the Thirty Years' War, Julie d'Angennes's passionate admiration for Gustavus Adolphus was a standing jest with the habitués of her mother's salon. One day, Voiture dressed five or six lackeys in Swedish costume and sent them to the lady, to present her with a portrait of her hero, accompanied by a most gracious letter purporting to be in his Majesty's own hand. The fair Julie, to the intense amusement of all who were in the secret, received the supposed royal gift with every manifestation of delight, and great was her mortification on learning how neatly she had been tricked.

The poet, however, was not always so happily inspired. Meeting one morning a man with a troupe of performing bears, he persuaded him to introduce them into Madame de Rambouillet's cabinet, and frightened the poor lady nearly out of her senses. She forgave him, but, as Voiture never published anything, bethought herself of a neat little retaliation, and accordingly caused one of his sonnets to be included in a collection of verses which was being printed for her. On the next occasion on which Voiture was asked to recite some of his verses, he happened to declaim this very poem, upon which the book was handed to him, with a gentle hint that he had appropriated the work of another; and for some time he believed that he had confounded his invention with his memory.*

Although circumstance was Voiture's favourite muse, and most of his work, improvised or very hurriedly composed, was necessarily somewhat frivolous, he was capable of more serious effort, and his elegies were warmly commended by so fastidious a critic as Boileau. He was also a most accomplished letter-writer, and his letter describing the recapture of Corbie from the Spaniards was considered a masterpiece by his contemporaries. His success in society secured him lucrative posts and handsome pensions, and the sound good sense he displayed in important matters caused him to be entrusted with more than one diplomatic mission. His *bonnes fortunes* were numerous and he was terribly addicted to play, but, *en*

* M. Victor du Bled, *La Société française du XVIe au XXe siècle*, 1re *Série*; *l'Hôtel de Rambouillet et la Préciosité.*

revanche, he was seldom known to touch wine.* He died on May 26, 1648, at the age of fifty, at the beginning of the Fronde, which killed the society to which he was accustomed. Some months before his death, he conceived a ridiculous passion for Angélique d'Angennes, over whom he fought a midnight duel, in the garden of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, with Chevaroche, the intendant of the house, and received a wound in the thigh.

Voiture is the first example of a man of letters living in constant intercourse with the higher nobility who preserved his independence. "His independence," remarks M. Georges Lecocq, "was absolute; he never belonged to any one. While Sarrasin was the henchman of the Prince de Conti, La Mesnardière of Madame de Sablé, Bois-Robert of the Cardinal, Vaugelas of Madame de Carignan, Voiture always remained his own master, living on terms of equality with every one, and observing, on all delicate occasions, a perfect tact and a profound reserve."†

Such was the society into which Mlle. de Bourbon was introduced soon after the eventful ball at the Louvre which had worked so great a change in her views of life. She was far from entering it unprepared. The Princesse de Condé, herself a woman of cultured and refined tastes, loved to gather about her both in Paris and at her country residences, particularly at Chantilly, poets, wits, artists, and philosophers; and the imposing Hôtel de Condé, which occupied the site of what is to-day the Théâtre de l'Odéon, was the rendezvous of a society scarcely less brilliant than that which frequented the Hôtel de Rambouillet. Through its vast salons, where every evening thousands of candles shed their light upon marvels of painting, statuary, and tapestry, the priceless heritage of the Montmorencies, moved not only representatives of the most illustrious families in France, but nearly all the talented men who shed so much lustre upon this remarkable epoch; while among *Madame la Princesse's* more intimate circle were to be found many great ladies distinguished alike for their intelligence, their charm of manner, and their irreproachable lives. "Marguerite de Montmorency," says Lenet, "who possessed the beauty,

* Which was the more singular, since his father was a wine-merchant.

† M. Georges Lecocq, *Voiture et l'Hôtel de Rambouillet.*

grace, and majesty of her age, had always around her a circle of the most agreeable and charming ladies of the Court. Near her were found all that was most gallant, most honourable, and most elevated both by birth and merit. The young prince [d'Enghien] became pleased with this society; he frequented it as regularly as possible, and derived from it the first tincture of that noble and gallant courtesy which he always possessed, and which he still preserves towards ladies." And the chronicler adds: "Mlle. de Bourbon possessed great intelligence and extraordinary beauty."

Extraordinary beauty! As to that, contemporary opinion is for once absolutely unanimous. "This princess," writes her lover, La Rochefoucauld, "possessed all the advantages of merit and of beauty to such a degree, that it seemed that Nature had taken pleasure in forming a masterpiece."

Cardinal de Retz, who would have been very pleased to have changed places with the author of the *Maximes*, is scarcely less emphatic: "As regards Madame de Longueville, the small-pox had deprived her of the first freshness of her beauty, but had left to her almost all its splendour; * and this splendour, joined to her rank, her intelligence, and her languor, rendered her one of the most amiable persons in France." And elsewhere he writes: "She had a languor in her manner which appealed to one more than the vivacity even of those who were more beautiful."†

And Georges de Scudéry, in the dedication of his sister's ponderous romance, *le Grand Cyrus*, thus addresses her: "The beauty that is yours in a sovereign degree is not the most marvellous of your gifts, although it be the object of the whole world's admiration. One sees, without doubt, in your Highness, the most perfect conception possible to behold, whether it be of form, of which yours is so beautiful and so noble, or of majestic bearing, or as regards the beauty of your looks, which effaces the rays of the star with which I compare you, or for the splendour and fascination of your eyes, for the purity and vivacity of your complexion, for the just proportion of all your

* Mlle. de Bourbon was attacked by small-pox shortly after her marriage; it left, however, scarcely any trace.

† *Mémoires.*

features, and for that air at once modest and gallant, which is the soul of beauty."

Moreover—*mirabile dictu*—her charms seem to have appealed no less strongly to her own than to the opposite sex. In the book itself, Mlle. de Scudéry gives us another and more detailed description of Madame de Longueville, under the name of Mandane, which is, if it be possible, more enthusiastic than that of her brother: "The veil of silver gauze which the Princesse Mandane wore did not prevent one perceiving a thousand golden ringlets, in which her beautiful hair, which was of a most lovely blond, was arranged. . . . Her shape was very noble and very elegant, and she walked with so unconscious a majesty, that she drew after her the hearts of all who beheld her. Her bosom was white, full, and well formed. She had blue eyes, but so sweet, so brilliant, and so full of modesty and charm, that it was impossible to behold her without respect and admiration. She had a mouth so red, teeth so white, so well shaped, and so even, a complexion so dazzling, so lustrous, so harmonious, and so delicately tinted, that the freshness and beauty of the rarest spring flowers could convey but an imperfect idea of that which met my gaze and that which this princess possessed. She had the most beautiful hands and the most beautiful arms possible to behold. . . . From all these charms, there resulted a harmony in all her actions so marvellous, that, whether she walked or whether she stood, whether she spoke or was silent, whether she was smiling or pensive, she was always fascinating and always worthy of admiration."

Madame de Motteville, whose pen-portraits of her contemporaries are, as a rule, admirably drawn, echoes the enthusiasm of *le Grand Cyrus*. "Though Madame de Longueville," she says, "ruled all souls by these means [her intelligence and her rank], that of her beauty was not less potent; for, although she had had the small-pox since the Regency began and had slightly lost the purity of her complexion, the glow of her charms always attracted the inclination of those who saw her. Above all, she possessed in a sovereign degree that which the Spanish language expresses by the words, *donayre, brio, y byzarria*. Her shape was admirable; and the very air of her person possessed a charm the spell of which extended even over her own sex. It was impossible to behold her without

liking her and desiring to please her. Her beauty, nevertheless, consisted more in the colouring of her face than in the perfection of its features. Her eyes were not large, but beautiful, soft, and brilliant; and the blue was wonderful; it resembled that of the turquoise. The poets could only compare to lilies and roses the red and white of her complexion; and the silver-blond hair which accompanied so many marvels made her resemble an angel, such as the weakness of our nature makes us imagine, rather than a woman."

Finally, *la Grande Mademoiselle*,* who certainly cannot be accused of an excess of benevolence when writing of the ladies of her time, and Madame de Maintenon, who did not see Anne de Bourbon until the latter had reached middle life, unite in describing her as "beautiful as an angel."

The portrait of Mlle. de Bourbon was painted by several of the best masters of her time, but more than one of these works would appear to have been destroyed. Thus nothing is known of a portrait by Rubens's pupil, Juste d'Egmont, which we learn, from a letter of the Comtesse de Maure, dated September 9, 1652, Madame de Longueville had commissioned this painter to execute,† nor of another "twenty-two inches by eighteen inches," which Vatout, in his *Catalogue historique et descriptive des tableaux appartenant à S.A.R. monseigneur le duc d'Orléans*, mentions as being among the collection of *la Grande Mademoiselle* at the Château d'Eu. Fortunately, however, enough portraits, either painted or engraved, have been preserved to enable us to form an excellent idea of what this charming woman must have been like during the first thirty years of her life, though none apparently belong to a later date.

During the Congress of Münster, in 1646 and 1647, Madame de Longueville was painted by the Dutch artist, Anselm van Hull. This portrait, which is a half-length, is generally considered, however, to do her scarcely justice, partly, no doubt, because she was not in good health at the time; but it proves none the less that the promise of her youth has been amply fulfilled. There are engravings of it by Filleul and Pontius (Du Pont).

* Anne Marie Louise d'Orléans, eldest daughter of Gaston d'Orléans.

† Victor Cousin, *Madame de Sablé*.

Besides the family portrait by Du Cayer, there is another painting of Anne de Bourbon at Versailles, commonly attributed to Mignard. This is not only infinitely pleasing, but, according to Victor Cousin, "the worthy image of Madame de Longueville." She is apparently about twenty-five, but still retains all the freshness of her first youth, "with a sweet and angelic countenance, where coquetry begins to appear through a *naïveté* almost virginal," a complexion of lilies and rose, soft blue eyes, silky golden curls floating on shapely shoulders, an exquisitely proportioned, if rather full, figure, and beautiful arms and hands. She wears that air of good-humoured languor of which her contemporaries speak, and is seated dressed in a rich Court costume and holding in her hands a bouquet of flowers. This portrait has been several times engraved; the most successful attempt is probably that by Waltener, the least that of Gavard.

In the Cabinet des Médailles there is a very beautiful silver medallion, representing Madame de Longueville at about the same age as the painting attributed to Mignard, which is believed to be by either Du Pré or Varins, while among the enamels of Petitot in the Louvre is one of the princess. This is, however, a very mediocre example of the artist's work, if it be his at all, on which point some doubt seems to exist.

The Cabinet des Estampes possesses a charming drawing by De Monstier, or Du Montier, as he is sometimes called, made, Cousin supposes, about 1646. "When one has seen this drawing and the Versailles portrait," he writes, "one has seen Madame de Longueville, and one understands all that her contemporaries say of her."

Of the engravings, apart from those after the paintings we have mentioned, the best is undoubtedly that by Regnesson, executed in 1649, after a drawing by Chauveau. It was used by the Scudérys as a frontispiece to the first volume of *le Grand Cyrus*, and certainly goes far to justify both the rhapsodies of the brother's dedication and of the sister's description of the Princess Mandane.

But, remarkable as was Anne de Bourbon's beauty, this alone would not have sufficed to ensure her the cordial welcome which she received at the Hôtel de Rambouillet, had she not possessed graces of mind as well as of person. Although her education, whether from the complacency of her teachers or from her own indolence, had been, as we

have already said, very superficial, the natural brilliance of her mind and constant intercourse with the most refined and intellectual society of her time atoned for this disadvantage, and in her the leaders of the famous salon speedily recognised a pupil of most unusual promise.

We have seen that Lenet and La Rochefoucauld praise her intelligence as well as her beauty, and, indeed, there would appear to be as much unanimity of opinion concerning her mental gifts as in regard to her charms. "The mind of Mlle. de Bourbon," writes Voiture to one of his friends, "is alone able to make one doubt whether her beauty is the most perfect thing in the world." "Madame de Longueville," says Retz, "has naturally a great fund of intelligence, but she has still more finesse and tact. Her capacity, which has not been aided by her indolence, has not been exercised upon business affairs." And, speaking of the "languor" of her manner, he writes: "She had even a languor of the mind, which was not without its charm, because it had, if we may say it, luminous and startling awakenings."

The women are once more in accord with the men. Madame de Maintenon declares that she was "the most intelligent woman of her time;" while Madame de Motteville, though she deplores her indolence, admits that "her ideas, her intellect, and the opinion formed of her discernment made her the admired of all men."

It was at the Hôtel de Rambouillet that Mlle. de Bourbon made the acquaintance of the celebrated Marquise de Sablé,* beloved of the ill-fated Duc de Montmorency, and formed with her a friendship which death alone was to terminate. Madame de Sablé was a passionate admirer of the Spanish romantic school and had, Madame de Motteville tells us, "formed a lofty idea of the gallantry which the Spaniards had learned from the Moors." "She was persuaded," the chronicler continues, "that men could, without evil, entertain tender feelings towards women, that the desire to please the latter moved them to great and noble deeds, gave them understanding, and inspired them with generosity and all kinds of virtues;

* Madeleine de Souvré, daughter of Gilles de Souvré, Marquis de Courtenvaux, *gouverneur* to Louis XIII. and afterwards *maréchal de France*. Born in 1599; married, in 1614, Philippe Emmanuel de Sablé, Seigneur de Bois-Dauphin, Marquis de Sablé; died at Port-Royal, 1678. Victor Cousin has devoted to her one of his most charming studies of the celebrated women of the seventeenth century.

but that, on the other hand, women, who were the ornament of the world, and made to be served and adored, ought not to permit anything save their respectful homage." The young beauty was fortunate in finding such a friend to guide her first steps amid the quicksands of the fashionable world, while it is probable that Madame de Sablé had no inconsiderable share in forming that sound judgment and really exquisite taste in all things intellectual and literary for which Mlle. de Bourbon was ere long to become hardly less celebrated than for her loveliness.

It was also at the Hôtel de Rambouillet that Mlle. de Bourbon became on terms of friendly intimacy with the Scudérys. The authoress of *le Grand Cyrus* was an excellent and warm-hearted woman, esteemed and beloved by all who knew her, so much so that Boileau, having written a satire, in which he had held her works up to ridicule, could not bring himself to publish it. She had a romance of her own with Pellisson. Some of her letters to him have been published, and to those acquainted with the stilted phraseology of *Cyrus* and *Clélie*, it is an agreeable surprise to find them naturally and pleasantly expressed. "It shows the power of affection," remarks Mr. Perkins, "that, when Mlle. de Scudéry wrote love-letters, she forgot to be prolix and ceased to be wearisome."* Her brother Georges, in spite of his conceit and the bombastic style of his works, was a well-meaning and honourable man and a staunch friend. Both he and his sister conceived the warmest regard for the young princess, and remained faithful to her through good and evil report. This fidelity on the part of Georges de Scudéry was the more to be admired, since he was a *protégé* of Mazarin, and the loss of the Cardinal's favour would have been a serious matter for him.

From a brilliant pupil, Anne de Bourbon soon became one of the chief ornaments of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, and eventually the arbitrix of taste and of supreme elegance. Madame de Motteville declares that "men were convinced that her esteem alone was enough to give them reputation;" and, in 1645, Le Clerc, afterwards a member of the Académie Française, in placing under her protection his tragedy of *Virginie*, thus addresses her: "To be acknowledged by you is to be so by all the world; you are to-day the tutelary divinity of the Muses."

* "France under Mazarin."

Like her brother, the Duc d'Enghien, who could not restrain his tears at the first representation of *Cinna*, she admired Corneille ; but her favourite among the men of letters whom she met at the Hôtel de Rambouillet was not the great dramatist, but Voiture, the delicacy and pathos of whose more serious efforts seem to have pleased her even more than the brilliant flashes of wit which distinguished his impromptu verses. For Voiture, indeed, she had the most sincere admiration ; an admiration which the poet fully reciprocated, celebrating her charms both of mind and person on every possible opportunity :

> De perles, d'astres et de fleurs,
> Bourbon le ciel fit tes couleurs.
> Et mit dedans tout ce mélange
> L'esprit d'un ange !

And again :

> L'on jugeroit par la blancheur
> De Bourbon et par sa fraîcheur,
> Qu'elle a pris naissance des lis, etc.

Even in his letters, as we have seen, he cannot refrain from extolling her intelligence and beauty.

About a year after Voiture's death, arose the famous quarrels of the "Uranistes" and the "Jobistes," the respective champions of two sonnets, *Uranie* and *Job*, the former, "the last sigh of Voiture's muse," which had just been published by his friends ; the latter, the work of Benserade.

The great majority of the Court and of the Hôtel de Rambouillet were of opinion that Benserade's was the finer poem ; but Mlle. de Bourbon—or rather Madame de Longueville, as she had then become—stoutly maintained the superiority of her dead friend against all opposition, and Mlle. de Scudéry wrote :

> A vous dire la vérité,
> Le destin de Job est étrange,
> D'être toujours persécuté,
> Tantôt par un démon et tantôt par un ange.

So strenuously did the young princess advocate the claims of *Uranie*, and so great was the reputation which she then enjoyed, that eventually most of the critics revised their

opinion and pronounced Voiture's sonnet to be the finer work; a verdict which has been confirmed by posterity.

Another of Mlle. de Bourbon's literary *protégés* was Chapelain, the most remarkable figure of a school of ponderous epic writers, the extinction of which is, in Mr. Saintsbury's judgment, the best claim of Boileau to the gratitude of posterity.* Chapelain was really a very erudite person indeed, who might have attained a quite respectable position as an author, had he only been content to write in prose. Unfortunately, his ambition lay in the direction of verse, and he spent twenty years of his life in the composition of *la Pucelle*, a gigantic epic in twenty cantos, which he fondly anticipated would become the "Iliad" of France. The first part appeared in 1656, only to be hopelessly damned.

Nous attendions de Chapelain
Une pucelle,
Jeune et belle;
Vingt ans à forger, il perdit son latin,
Et de sa main
Il sort enfin
Une vieille sempiternelle,

ran one of the epigrams directed against it.

So well had Chapelain understood how to excite the curiosity of the public during the twenty years of his poetical *enfantement*, and so skilfully had he succeeded in arousing enthusiasm by the reading of isolated passages, that in eighteen months six editions of the first twelve cantos were published. But, in the meanwhile, the epigrams of Montdon and Furetière and the slashing satire of Boileau had reduced the hapless author to such a pitch of despair, that nothing could induce him to allow the remainder of his immortal work to see the light, and those who would peruse the last twelve cantos of *la Pucelle* must seek them among the manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Notwithstanding the esteem in which Madame de Longueville held Chapelain, and the fact that she had persuaded her husband to grant him a substantial pension, in order that he might devote all his energies to the composition of his epic, she was one of the first to recognise his defects as a

* "History of French Literature."

poet. One day, when Chapelain had been reading a portion of his forthcoming work at the Hôtel de Rambouillet, and the company, who appear to have taken him very much at his own valuation, were loud in praise of its supposed beauties, she remarked, on being appealed to for her opinion : " Yes ; that is very fine, but very wearisome."*

Chapelain, who was the kindest and least vindictive of men, bore not the slightest malice for the ridicule which was poured upon him, and when, in 1662, he was commissioned by Colbert to draw up an account of contemporary men of letters destined to guide the King in his distribution of pensions, the royal attention was directed alike to his friends and his most pitiless critics.

The princess was also on very friendly terms with the little Abbé Godeau, the future bishop, with whom she maintained a correspondence for some years, and with the eccentric Jacques Esprit, of the Académie Française, who began life as a man of letters and clerk to Chancellor Séguier ; then took to devotion and was ordained a priest of the Oratory, and, finally, returned to the world, married and became the father of a numerous family.

CHAPTER IV

THE MARRIAGE OF MLLE. DE BOURBON

MLLE. DE BOURBON passed every winter in Paris, at the Hôtel de Condé, frequenting almost daily the gatherings at the Hôtel de Rambouillet, and attending the Court functions at the Louvre, and the scarcely less splendid receptions given by Richelieu at the Palais-Cardinal. The summers she spent with her mother in the country, following the Court to Fontainebleau, visiting her great friends the Du Vigeans† at La Barre, the beautiful

* Bourgoing de Villefore, *la Véritable Vie d'Anne-Geneviève de Bourbon, Duchesse de Longueville.*

† The Du Vigeans were an old Poitevin family. François Poussant de Fors, Baron, afterwards Marquis, du Vigean, was a Protestant ; his wife, Anne de Neufbourg, a Catholic. They had four children, two sons and two daughters, the former being brought up in the religion of their father, the latter in that of their mother. Of the sons, the elder, the Marquis de Fors, was killed before Arras in his twenty-fifth year. Although so young, he had already greatly distinguished himself. His brother, who also served with distinction, was assassinated, under mysterious circumstances, in 1663. Concerning the daughters, and particularly the younger, we shall have something to say presently.

and pious Jeanne de Schomberg, Duchesse de Liancourt, at Liancourt, or the Cardinal and his niece, the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, at Rueil, their beautiful château on the banks of the Seine between Saint-Germain and Paris.

Although *Madame la Princesse* hated Richelieu, being unable to pardon him the death of her brother, Henri de Montmorency, whom all her prayers and tears had not availed to save, in deference to the wishes of her husband, who never allowed sentiment to interfere with his interests, she was always very careful to disguise her feelings, and, with her children, was a frequent guest at Rueil. Here the Cardinal combined business and pleasure, working in the morning with his secretaries or whatever Ministers happened to be in attendance, and in the latter part of the day delighting his guests by splendid ballets and the most sumptuous fêtes. At Rueil, as at the Palais-Cardinal, he had a theatre constructed, equipped with all the most modern improvements, where plays composed by the five poets whom he had retained to work for it—Bois-Robert, Colletet, Corneille, L'Etoile, and Rotrou—were performed. Another poet whose pen Richelieu employed was Desmarets, who would appear to have been not infrequently charged to celebrate the charms of his patron's fair visitors. In a collection of verses composed by him for the ballets at Rueil, and published in 1641, are several little pieces in praise of the Princesse de Condé and Mlle. de Bourbon, in one of which the three Graces, addressing themselves to the latter, exclaim :

> Merveilleuse beauté, race de tant de rois,
> Princesse, dont l'éclat fait honte aux immortelles,
> Nous ne pensions être que trois,
> Et nous trouvons en vous mille grâces nouvelles.*

Occasional visits were also paid to *Madame la Princesse's* seats at Mello, La Versine, and Méru ; but the greater part of the summer was spent at Chantilly, whither she came with a little Court composed of the most intimate friends of her children and a sprinkling of wits and men of letters, of whom the most regular guests were Voiture and Sarrasin. *Monsieur le Prince*, who did not care for country pleasures, usually remained in Paris, and, in his absence, etiquette was laid aside, and the guests permitted to amuse themselves as they pleased. The days

* Published by Victor Cousin, *la Jeunesse de Madame de Longueville.*

were passed in delightful excursions, gallantry, though of an innocent and very ceremonious kind, music, the reading aloud of romances and plays, and the composition of rhyming letters to absent friends.

To write letters in verse was a favourite amusement of Mlle. de Bourbon and her young friends. Victor Cousin, in his *Jeunesse de Madame de Longueville*, cites a lengthy epistle, the joint work of Anne de Bourbon, Julie d'Angennes, Isabelle de Boutteville (the future Duchesse de Châtillon) and Mlle. de Brienne, addressed to the Mlles. du Vigean, and a shorter one composed by them in honour of the Princesse de Condé. He appears to consider them very creditable productions for youthful amateurs ; but, to our mind, neither is anything like so amusing as the delightful nonsense which the little Marianne Mancini (afterwards Duchesse de Bouillon) used to send to Mazarin, and which her uncle could find time to read and laugh over, even when tortured by gout and overwhelmed by the pressure of public business.*

The mania for rhyming seized the Great Condé himself, who not seldom broke out into verse, generally of a very sprightly kind. One All Saints' Day, at Liancourt, impatient to see his sister and her friends, who were in church, he composed this epigram :

Donnez-en à garder à d'autres,
Dites cent fois vos patenôtres,
Et marmottez-en ce saint jour.
Nous vous estimons trop habiles ;
Pour ouïr des propos d'amour
Vous quitteriez bientôt vigiles.

Perhaps the best known of his poetical efforts is that at the expense of the Comte d'Harcourt, who, in 1650, was charged to escort Condé, Conti, and Longueville from Marcoussis to Havre :

Cet homme gros et court,
Si fameux dans l'histoire ;
Ce grand comte d'Harcourt,
Tout rayonnant de gloire,
Qui secourut Cazal et qui reprit Turin,
Est devenu recors de Jules Mazarin.

* See the author's "Five Fair Sisters" (London : Hutchinson ; New York : Putnams ; 1906).

Sometimes, even when addressing his friends, he permitted his muse a freedom which could scarcely have added to his popularity. One day, at table, drinking to the health of the Comte de Marsin, one of his most trusted lieutenants, upon whom, though he held him in high esteem, he could not forbear occasionally exercising his wit, he sang the following verses to the refrain of a song then very popular :

Je bois à toi, mon cher Marsin.
Je crois que Mars est ton cousin,
Et Bellone est ta mère,
Je ne dis rien du père,
Car il est incertain.
Tin, tin, trelin, tin, tin, tin.

Lenet, in his *Mémoires*, has left us an interesting account of how the company at Chantilly passed their time :

" The excursions were the most agreeable possible to imagine. The evenings were not less amusing. After the usual prayers had been read in the chapel, which were attended by every one, all the ladies retired to the apartments of the princess, where they played at various games and sang. There were often fine voices and very agreeable conversations, stories of Court intrigues and gallantry, which made life pass as pleasantly as possible. It was a great pleasure to see all the young ladies who composed the Court melancholy or gay, according to the frequency or rarity of the visits which were paid them and the nature of the letters which they received. We used to see constantly messengers or visitors arriving, which aroused great jealousy among those who received none ; and all this drew forth verses, sonnets, and elegies, which amused the indifferent no less than those personally interested. Rhymes and riddles were composed, which occupied the time in spare hours. Some were to be seen walking on the edge of the ponds, and some in the alleys of the park or gardens, on the terrace or on the lawn, alone or in parties, according to the state of mind in which they were, while others sang airs or recited verses, or read romances on a balcony, or as they walked or reposed on the grass. Never was there seen so beautiful a place in such a beautiful season."

Lenet wrote of the spring of 1650, when the princes (Condé, Conti, and Longueville) were in prison, and Madame

de Longueville an exile, and when, as he admits, the amusements of the young people were often disturbed by bad news. But before the Fronde, which divided all French society, Chantilly was an even more delightful resort. The Duc d'Enghien came there, bringing with him many of the young nobles who had been his friends at Benjamin's Academy, and who were to fight by his side on many a fiercely contested field : the two sons of the Maréchal Duc de Châtillon : Maurice, Comte de Coligny, who was mortally wounded, in 1643, in the famous duel with the Duc de Guise, of which we shall speak hereafter, and Gaspard, Marquis d'Andelot, who succeeded to his father's title, and, after covering himself with glory on the memorable day of Lens, was killed in a skirmish at Charenton in the first War of the Fronde ; Guy de Laval, son of the Marquise de Sablé, their rival in courage and their superior in intelligence, whose career, full of promise, was cut short at the siege of Dunkerque ; Léon d'Angennes, Marquis de Pisani, who, like Guy de Laval, was the son of a celebrated mother (Madame de Rambouillet), and, like him, died sword in hand ;* two young men who successively bore the title of Duc de Nemours, Louis and Charles Amédée de Savoie, both distinguished for their good looks and their courage, and both destined to an early death ;† La Moussaye,‡ one of the heroes of the Battle of la Marfée, the Great Condé's most intimate friend and confidant, to whom we owe the best accounts of the campaigns of Rocroi and Freiburg ; the two Du Vigeans, Nangis, Tavannes and others, amongst whom grew up the little François de Montmorency-Boutteville, afterwards the celebrated Maréchal de Luxembourg.

And among these budding warriors, and the wits and men of letters whom the Princesse de Condé delighted to gather round her, moved a band of young beauties, the chosen companions of her daughter, several of whom have left their mark upon the history of their time : light-

* He was killed at Nördlingen, in 1645.

† Louis died of fever, in 1641, during the siege of Aire ; Charles Amédée was killed in a miserable duel with his brother-in-law, the Duc de Beaufort, in 1643. Their younger brother, Henri de Savoie, who succeeded to the dukedom, subsequently married Mlle. de Longueville, daughter of Anne of Bourbon's husband by his first wife. The three brothers were descended from Philibert de Savoie, created Duc de Nemours by François I.

‡ François de Goyon-Matignon, Baron de Nogent, commonly called Nogent La Moussaye, and sometimes confounded with his brother, the Marquis de la Moussaye. He died at Stenai, in 1650.

hearted, laughter-loving damsels, bandying jests with the wits, rallying the more serious, and exercising, under the indulgent eyes of *Madame la Princesse*, their precocious coquetry upon the Duc d'Enghien and his comrades.

Here is Marie Antoinette de Brienne, daughter of the Minister of Louis XIII. and of the Regent, a sweet, modest girl, and like her mother, who was one of Anne of Austria's closest friends and the recipient of that interesting confidence regarding her Majesty's feelings for Mazarin which her husband relates in his *Mémoires*, exceedingly devout. She married, in 1642, the Marquis de Gamaches, and died, in 1704, at the age of eighty. The least beautiful of the youthful companions of Anne de Bourbon, Marie Antoinette de Brienne was certainly the most happy.

Near her, the two Bouttevilles, sisters of the future Maréchal de Luxembourg: Marie Louise, afterwards Marquise de Valençay, and Isabelle, celebrated, under the name of the Duchesse de Châtillon, as the most finished coquette of her time. Insatiable for admiration, she disdains no conquest, encouraging and rebuffing by turns the troop of youthful adorers who gather about her, and rehearsing thus early with the Duc d'Enghien and the younger of the two boys who are to bear in succession the title of Duc de Nemours, the part she will one day play with them on another stage. None of the nymphs of Chantilly, with the single exception of Mlle. de Bourbon, inspire the poets of *Madame la Princesse* to celebrate their charms and deplore their coldness more often than she. Among a multitude of verses, of more or less merit, composed in her honour may be mentioned those of the poet Charpy, wherein he draws an ingenious comparison between the destruction wrought by the sword of her father, the notorious duellist, and the havoc created by the *beaux yeux* of Isabelle:

> Quand je vois de rapport de votre père à vous,
> Divinité mortelle, adorable Sylvie!
> Il tenait dans ses mains et la mort et la vie:
> Vos yeux se sont acquis les mêmes sur nous.*

Then there is the celebrated Julie d'Angennes, of whom we have already had occasion to speak in our account of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, who married, in 1645, the

* Marquis de Ségur, *la Jeunesse du Maréchal de Luxembourg.*

austere Montausier, and subsequently became *gouvernante* to the Dauphin and *dame d'honneur* to Louis XIV.'s long-suffering Queen. A great reputation for virtue has the "incomparable Julie," as her admirers call her, but this will not prevent her playing a very equivocal rôle in the early days of *le Grand Monarque's* passion for Madame de Montespan, and thereby gaining a dukedom and other honours for her husband.

Finally, there are the two Du Vigeans, whose charms, with those of their mother, Voiture has celebrated in a review of the beauties of the Court of Chantilly addressed to the Princesse de Condé :

Baronne, pleine de douceur,
Etes-vous mère, êtes-vous sœur
De ces deux belles si gentilles
Qu'on dit vos filles ?
. . . . . .

Sur son visage [of the elder sister] et sur ses pas
Naissent des fleurs et des appas
Qu'ailleurs on ne voit point éclore, etc.

Vigean [the younger] est un soleil naissant,
Un bouton s'épanouissant, etc.

Sans savoir ce que c'est qu'amour
Ses beaux yeux le mettent au jour,
Et partout elle le fait naître
Sans le connoître.

A very shrewd as well as a very attractive young lady is Louise, the elder sister. She married, in 1644, the Marquis de Pons, only to find herself a widow four years later. Then she insinuated herself into the good graces of the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, with a view to the subjugation of her nephew, the young Duc de Richelieu, the Cardinal's heir ; and to such good purpose did she utilize the opportunities which her intimacy with the unsuspecting duchess gave her, that soon the youth was at her feet. Great was the wrath and bitter the opposition of Madame d'Aiguillon and all her relatives ; but the astute widow bore away the prize none the less.*

* See p. 191.

The younger sister had little in common with the elder, save comeliness, in which respect, however, she was commonly accounted greatly her superior. Unfortunately, no portrait of Marthe du Vigean, either painted or engraved, has been preserved, nor have we any detailed description of her among the writings of her contemporaries which can supply its place. But her beauty would appear to have been of a peculiarly appealing type, the reflection of a character gentle, pure, and unselfish.

In love, it is said, persons are most frequently attracted by those who least resemble them. However that may be, the haughty, vain, egotistical young Duc d'Enghien, for a moment subjugated by the more dazzling charms of Isabelle de Boutteville, to whose yoke he will return in years to come, speedily transferred his affections to this gentle, retiring maiden, for whom he conceived the one great and pure passion of his stormy life. The girl reciprocated his affection, and loved him with an intensity of devotion which never wavered for a moment till her life's end. To her, this young prince, with his eagle glance and his fiery courage, was a veritable hero of romance; a seventeenth-century Bayard, "*sans peur et sans reproche.*"

It was a tradition among the princes of the House of Bourbon to seek their wives very often among the daughters of noble and wealthy French families, and, as Mlle. du Vigean was a considerable heiress, and her family high in favour at Court, the Duc d'Enghien, under ordinary circumstances, might not have despaired of obtaining his father's and the King's—that is to say, Richelieu's—consent, to the match. Unhappily for the lovers, *Monsieur le Prince* had other views for his son, and had already selected a wife for him.

Among the courtiers who so eagerly sought the favour of Richelieu no one was more obsequious than the Prince de Condé, who had not only willingly consented to the suggestion that the Princes of the Blood should yield precedence to cardinals, but had even, it is said, carried his servility to such a point as to hold open doors for the all-powerful Minister to pass through. Omnipotent though Richelieu was, he could hardly have flattered himself with the hope of an alliance with royalty itself, and it must, therefore, have been with feelings of astonishment and contempt mingling with gratification that

"he beheld M. de Condé ask of him, almost on his knees, the hand of his niece, and plead for this object as eagerly as though he had in view for his son the sovereignty of the world."*

The niece in question was Claire-Clémence de Maillé-Brézé, a child of twelve, daughter of the Maréchal Duc de Brézé, who had married Richelieu's pretty but eccentric sister, Nicole du Plessis. The family of Maillé, although one of the most ancient in Anjou, which had contributed to the Crusades one of its bravest champions, was still scarcely a suitable connection for the Royal Family of France, nor had the marshal any fortune wherewith to endow his daughter. The match, indeed, was a kind of speculation on the part of *Monsieur le Prince*, based on the probable duration of the favour and life of a Minister often menaced and already very ill. He anticipated, however, that both would last long enough to enable him to secure the offices and emoluments he coveted for himself, and the military posts he desired for his son.†

The Duc d'Enghien protested strongly against the sacrifice that was demanded of him, and entreated his father to allow him to marry the lady of his heart. But the Prince de Condé, always terribly in earnest when it was a question of pleasing those in power, was inexorable ; and eventually the duke gave a reluctant consent, somewhat consoled by the reflection that, as the Cardinal's nephew by marriage, advancement in his profession must be both sure and speedy.

In April, 1640, the young prince, who was then at Dijon, was summoned to Paris and there formally betrothed to Mlle. de Maillé-Brézé, whose extreme youthfulness had decided her uncle to postpone the marriage until the following year. Immediately afterwards, Enghien set out for Picardy, where he was to join the army operating against the Spaniards on the North-Eastern frontier. He was greatly disappointed that he was not to receive his baptism of fire under the eyes of his father, who commanded the French forces in Roussillon. But Richelieu had chosen the army of Picardy, since its commander, the Maréchal de la Meilleraie, was the sworn enemy of *Monsieur le Prince*, and might consequently be trusted neither to

* Mlle. de Montpensier, *Mémoires.*

† Duc d'Aumale, *Histoire des Princes de Condé.*

allow the young soldier to shirk his duties nor to exaggerate his services.*

In the campaign which followed and which terminated in August of that year with the capture of Arras, Enghien earned golden opinions from all his superiors by the promptitude and intelligence with which he carried out everything entrusted to him, and gave ample proofs of the courage for which he was soon to become so famous in a cavalry skirmish before the beleaguered town. The campaign over, the duke, by his father's instructions, returned to Dijon without passing through Paris, to the intense chagrin of Mlle. de Bourbon and her friends, who were naturally anxious to celebrate his exploits. But *Monsieur le Prince*, like a prudent father, had decided that, until his son was safely married, it would be as well for him to shun the society of those dangerously fascinating damsels, and of one of them in particular.

Early in the following year, he returned to the capital, where, on February 7, the marriage-contract was signed in the King's cabinet, as was the custom when Princes of the Blood were wed. The Prince and Princesse de Condé promised to the young couple settlements to the value of 80,000 livres a year and an annual pension of 40,000 livres. His Eminence gave his niece a dowry of 600,000 livres, but under the express condition that she should renounce all claims to his property in the event of his death. This stipulation greatly disgusted *Monsieur le Prince*, as greedy as he was ambitious, who, though he did not venture to contest the matter with Richelieu, made, together with his son, a formal protest in the presence of a notary against the renunciation exacted by the Cardinal.

After the signing of the contract, Richelieu gave a magnificent ballet at the Palais-Cardinal, entitled *la Prospérité des armes de France*, which, we are told, delighted every one save the moody King, who appeared intensely bored. A trifling but ludicrous incident somewhat marred the harmony of the proceedings. Mlle. de Maillé-Brézé had come to the fête furnished with a pair of enormously high-heeled shoes, which she had been made to don in order to increase her stature, which was very short, even for her years. It was only with the greatest difficulty that she was able to preserve her equilibrium

* MM. Homberg and Jousselin, *la Femme du Grand Condé*.

when walking, and the moment she attempted to dance, she tripped and fell sprawling on the floor. No consideration of respect could hinder the company from giving vent to their merriment, to the profound mortification of the Duc d'Enghien, who appeared to feel that his bride-elect had disgraced both himself and him.*

On February 11, the marriage was celebrated in the chapel of the Palais-Cardinal by the Archbishop of Paris. After the ceremony, the bridal pair and their relatives were entertained to a sumptuous banquet by Bouthillier, the Comptroller-General, and in the evening a play followed by a supper was given by Richelieu at the Palais-Cardinal. "Never had his Eminence been seen in a better temper," writes a witness of the marriage fêtes, on which the Cardinal is said to have expended upwards of a million livres.† Supper over, the company adjourned to the Hôtel de Condé, to put the young couple to bed, according to custom.

A few days after these events, the Duc d'Enghien fell dangerously ill, a circumstance which was charitably ascribed by the Court to the grief which his marriage had occasioned him. At one time, the doctors had almost abandoned hope, but their apprehensions were unfounded, and in six weeks he had recovered. He celebrated his return to health by giving a grand fête at Charonne to his sister and her friends, including, it is needless to mention, Mlle. du Vigean. In the eyes of Richelieu, no society was more calculated to wean the young duke from the domestic hearth than that of these charming young ladies, and the coldness with which Enghien had from the first treated his child-wife, in spite of the affection which she lavished upon him, had greatly irritated the Cardinal. His resentment had been increased by the fate which had befallen one Maigrin, a creature of his own, whom the Prince de Condé, at his suggestion, had appointed comptroller of his son's household. Incensed by the surveillance which he suspected Maigrin of exercising over his actions, the young duke had inveighed against him in such forcible terms before some of his confidential servants, that, on Easter Sunday, two of them had way-

* Mlle. de Montpensier, *Mémoires.*

† Letter of Henri Arnauld to the Président Barillon, Bibliothèque Nationale MSS., cited by MM. Homberg and Jousselin, *la Femme du Grand Condé.*

laid the unfortunate comptroller, and wounded him so severely, that he died the same night.

The Cardinal now wrote a very angry letter to the Prince de Condé, complaining bitterly of "the disorders and the want of dignity in M. d'Enghien's Household" and demanding that "his conduct should be aided and guided by a single mind." The obsequious prince hastened to reply: "He is your nephew, *your creature*; do with him what you will." And the luckless Enghien found that he had escaped from the parental control only to fall under the tyranny of Richelieu, who reorganised his Household, which he filled with persons devoted to his own interests, fixed the number of days which he was to spend in any one place, and regulated everything which concerned him down to the smallest details. No wonder that the young duke was glad when the time arrived for him to rejoin the army of La Meilleraie, with which he took part in the sieges of Aire, La Bassée, and Bapaume!

Sixteen months after the marriage of the Duc d'Enghien, there was another marriage in the Condé family: that of his sister, Mlle. de Bourbon.

The question of their only daughter's establishment in life had exercised the minds of the Prince and Princesse de Condé since her earliest infancy. When she was only six months old (February 25, 1620), she had been formally betrothed to the Prince de Joinville, a boy of eight, eldest son of Charles de Lorraine, Duc de Guise. Such an alliance would have been an eminently desirable one from *Monsieur le Prince's* point of view, since it would have united the three powerful families of Guise, Montmorency and Condé; though whether Richelieu would have regarded it with similar feelings is open to question. However that may be, the project was fated never to be realised. In 1631, the Duc de Guise, who had remained faithful to Marie de' Medici in her disgrace, was compelled to share her lot and take refuge in Italy. Thither his son followed him, and died, at Florence, in 1639.

After the death of the young Prince de Joinville, rumour seems to have been busy with the names of several young nobles as possible husbands for Mlle. de Bourbon. Among them, was Armand de Maillé, Marquis, and later Duc, de Brézé, the brother of the young lady whom the

Duc d'Enghien had so unwillingly espoused. Armand de Maillé, some years later, greatly distinguished himself at sea, and had already inflicted two crushing reverses upon the Spanish fleet, when, in 1646, he was killed by a cannon-shot at the siege of Orbitello. If we are to believe Bourgoing de Villefore, *Monsieur le Prince* in his anxiety to identify still more closely the interests of his family with those of Richelieu, actually proposed this match to the Cardinal. But the Minister replied that he had been sufficiently honoured by a Prince of the Blood demanding the hand of his niece, and would not presume so far as to expect a Princess of the Blood to marry a simple gentleman. It is probable, as Victor Cousin observes, that this apparent modesty on the part of one of the haughtiest of men was dictated by some political reason which he did not care to explain.

The Duc de Beaufort, the famous "*Roi des Halles*," younger son of the Duc de Vendôme, was an aspirant not only to the hand, but to the heart of Anne de Bourbon; but the Condés did not love the Vendômes, who were, besides, at this time in very bad odour at Court; while the young lady herself, upon whom M. de Beaufort's brusque manners had made a far from favourable impression, gave him not the smallest encouragement to prosecute his suit. Finally, towards the end of 1641, the Prince and Princesse de Condé, having failed to find a suitable match for their daughter among the younger nobles of the kingdom, cast their eyes upon the greatest personage in France, next to the Princes of the Blood: Henri II., Duc de Longueville, a widower of forty-seven, with a daughter already of marriageable age.

The family of Longueville was a branch of the Royal House of France, descended from the celebrated Comte de Dunois—the "Bastard of Orléans"—natural son of Louis I., Duc d'Orléans. His nephew, Charles VII., gave him, in 1463, the county of Longueville, in the district of Caux, which had been ceded to Charles VI. by Bertrand du Guesclin half a century earlier. Dunois's grandson François was created a duke in 1505, and, in 1571, his successor Léonor received from Charles IX., for himself and his descendants, the title of Princes of the Blood.

Henri II., Duc de Longueville, was the son of Henri d'Orléans, first of the name, Prince de Neufchâtel and

Vallengin, *Chevalier des Ordres* to Henri IV. and Governor of Picardy, and later of Normandy, who built the magnificent château of Coulommiers, and inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Leaguers at Senlis. His mother was Catherine de Gonzague, sister of the Duc de Nevers, father of Marie de Gonzague, Queen of Poland, and Anne, the celebrated Princess Palatine. Born in 1595, the future husband of Anne de Bourbon had been previously married to Louise de Bourbon, sister of the last Comte de Soissons. This lady had died in 1637, leaving a daughter, Marie d'Orléans, Mlle. de Longueville, now in her eighteenth year, who subsequently married Henri de Savoie, Duc de Nemours, the younger brother of the two young men already mentioned.

The Duc de Longueville was an excellent example of the best type of *grand seigneur* of the period, generous, brave, and chivalrous. He was wanting, however, in strength of character, and could easily be persuaded to embark in any enterprise, however rash, which at first sight appeared to promise a successful issue, though he had sufficient good sense to endeavour to repair his error, so soon as his eyes were opened to the true nature of the undertaking. Thus, during the Regency of Marie de' Medici, he had been continually opposing and making his peace with the Government; he had taken part in the conspiracy of 1626 against Richelieu, only to make a speedy submission to the Cardinal's authority; and we shall presently see him thoughtlessly engaging in the Fronde and sharing the captivity of his brothers-in-law, Condé and Conti, which ended, he will hasten to be reconciled to the Court. Yet he was far from being without ability, and rendered his country some service both in war and diplomacy. The misfortune of his life, as Victor Cousin remarks, was to be dragged, by his own fault and those of others, into adventures for which he was quite unfitted, and where in consequence his qualities were less apparent than his failings.

In appearance, Longueville, to judge by his portraits, was a distinguished-looking rather than a handsome man, with strongly marked features, a high-bridged nose, and a good-humoured expression. Without being in any way a libertine, his morals were decidedly easy. He had had, when a young man, by Jacqueline d'Illiers, afterwards Abbess of Saint-Avil, near Châteaudun, a natural

daughter, Catherine Angélique d'Orléans, who, like her mother, took the veil, and died, in 1664, Abbess of Maubuisson ; and he was at this time the lover—or rather one of the lovers—of the notorious Duchesse de Montbazon.

Mlle. de Bourbon could hardly be expected to welcome with any enthusiasm the prospect of uniting her life to that of a man more than twice her age, and appears, indeed, to have viewed it with considerable repugnance. But her parents, having once decided on the suitability of the match, were not likely to allow themselves to be influenced by any consideration for their daughter's feelings ; and her protests fell on deaf ears. If, however, they attached little importance to her sentiments in regard to the husband they had chosen for her, they devoted the most careful attention to the weighty question whether the marriage would or would not entail any derogation of her privileges as a Princess of the Blood. Notwithstanding the decree of 1571, which had conferred upon the then Duc de Longueville and his descendants the title of Princes of the Blood, the illegitimacy of the founder of their House left this claim always subject to dispute ; and accordingly the Prince and Princesse de Condé obtained a special *brevet* from the King, which permitted their daughter to retain all the prerogatives of her birth. The doubt as to the Duc de Longueville's claim was finally set at rest in 1653, when Louis XIV. confirmed the decree of Charles IX.

The marriage took place on June 2, 1642. The young princess had never looked more beautiful and appeared so gay and animated during the magnificent fêtes which the Duc de Longueville gave to celebrate the event, that it was difficult for those about her to realise that her marriage had not been one of inclination.

CHAPTER V

MAZARIN AND THE "IMPORTANTS"

SCARCELY were the marriage-fêtes terminated than the bride was attacked by small-pox, then so terrible a scourge. There was much excitement in society as to whether she would be marked or not, but, fortunately, as we have mentioned elsewhere, the disease left scarcely

any trace. She was nursed in her illness by her friend Julie d'Angennes, who showed on this occasion great courage and devotion.

The great event of that winter was, of course, the death of Richelieu, who, on December 4, 1642, succumbed to the one enemy whom he was unable to subjugate, in full possession of all the power and splendour for which he had laboured so unceasingly. Save to his family and his immediate followers, his death brought little regret, for all classes had felt his iron hand, and even the King seems to have experienced a sense of relief at the thought that the short span of life that remained to him would be free from that overshadowing presence.

When the will which the Cardinal had executed at Narbonne some months before was opened, it was found that his duchies of Fronsac and Caumont, together with other estates and fifty thousand livres, had been bequeathed to Armand de Maillé, but that the expectations of his sister, the Duchesse d'Enghien—or rather of her father and the Condés—were extinguished by the following clause :

"I make no mention in this will of my niece, the Duchesse d'Enghien, inasmuch as by her marriage contract she has renounced her claim to my property, in consideration of the dowry I have bestowed upon her, and with which I desire her to be content."

Great was the chagrin and indignation of the haughty and greedy family into which poor little Claire-Clémence had entered on discovering that the Cardinal had strictly adhered to the conditions which he had imposed at the time of her marriage. The Duc de Maillé-Brézé was equally enraged at the disinheriting of his daughter, and declared that the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, in whose presence the will had been drawn up and who had benefited largely under it, while her nephew, Armand de Vignerot, was the principal legatee,* had falsified the document. Was she not the grand-daughter of a notary ? he asked.

These complaints were only the prelude to an acrimonious lawsuit brought by the Prince de Condé against the Duchesse d'Aiguillon and her nephew. With the parties exasperated to the last degree against one another,

* Richelieu had bequeathed his much-loved niece large estates and 60,000 livres a year. The duchy of Richelieu and many other possessions were left to his grand-nephew, Armand de Vignerot, on condition that he should bear only the name of Du Plessis-Richelieu.

and in an age remarkable for its forensic licence, the trial, as may be presumed, proved a great attraction ; nor was the public disappointed in its expectations, as counsel on either side fairly surpassed themselves in the violence of their harangues, and the most scandalous charges were bandied about. *Monsieur le Prince's* advocate, one Me Gaultier, did not hesitate to traduce the memory of the Cardinal and the reputation of Madame d'Aiguillon, and pretended that the will had been dictated by the duchess and executed by her uncle under the influence of an incestuous passion, and that it ought, therefore, to be declared void. "Monsieur le Cardinal," said he, "might be compared to Samson who, although the strongest man in the world, lost his strength in the arms of a woman." These edifying remarks were made in the presence of the Duchesse d'Enghien and *Monsieur le Prince*, who sat upon the benches reserved for the parties to the suit.

Then Me Hilaire, who represented the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, in his turn, took the offensive, and delivered a slashing attack on the Prince de Condé, who, he affirmed, "had gone down on his knees before the Cardinal de Richelieu to ask for the hand of Mlle. de Maillé-Brézé." Stung to the quick, *Monsieur le Prince* rose, and, amid the unrestrained merriment of the court, hurriedly quitted the too conspicuous position he occupied, and took refuge in an obscure seat in the gallery ; while his advocate rejoined by stigmatizing Madame d'Aiguillon as "a strumpet and a painted monster."*

Opinion was favourable to the claims of the Prince de Condé, and a first decision of the Court condemned the Duchesse d'Aiguillon to restore 400,000 livres. But there were so many points to be debated, and the gentlemen of the long robe found the business so exceedingly profitable, that it was not until the case had dragged its weary length along for more than thirty years, that the rival parties, wearied of the interminable litigation, arrived at a settlement. By this transaction, the Duc d'Enghien—or rather the Prince de Condé, as he then was, for Henri de Bourbon had been more than a quarter of a century in his grave—agreed to recognise the Duc de Richelieu's right to all the estates bequeathed to him, in return for the cession of the marquisates of Graville and Traives ; while he and his

* Olivier d'Ormesson, *Journal*. MM. Homberg et Jousselin, *la Femme du Grand Condé*.

wife were to receive, after the decease of the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, her hôtel in Paris, the Petit-Luxembourg, in consideration of the payment of 100,000 livres to the Duc de Richelieu.

Notwithstanding the death of the Cardinal and the fact that Louis XIII. was himself slowly dying, the winter of 1642–43 was a very gay one in Paris. "Never," says Mlle. de Montpensier, "had there been so many balls." Madame de Longueville's life continued on much the same pleasant lines as before her marriage; she spent a good deal of her time at the Louvre, the Hôtel de Condé, and the Hôtel de Rambouillet, while her own salon, although it never aspired to rival either her mother's or that of the "divine Arthénice," soon became one of the most delightful resorts in Paris.* With such examples before her eyes as the two above-mentioned ladies, the young duchess seems to have made an ideal hostess, full of kindliness and tact; and her conversational powers soon became as celebrated as the exquisite taste and sound literary judgment she always displayed. Many years later, the famous Jansenist publicist, Nicole, did not hesitate to compare her to the Comte de Tréville, one of the most brilliant conversationalists of his time. "The manner in which Madame de Longueville conversed," says he, "was a thing to observe. She spoke so well all that she had to say, that it would be difficult to talk better, however much study one brought to it. M. de Tréville's conversation was the more vivacious and original, but there was more delicacy, and more intelligence and good sense in the manner in which Madame de Longueville expressed herself." Moreover, like Madame Récamier, a century and a half later, she possessed the happy gift of directing a general conversation and, like her, was also an admirable listener. It is probable that it was to this last qualification

* "The Hôtel de Longueville of this period must not be confused with the house in the Rue Saint-Thomas-du-Louvre which Anne de Bourbon, after her husband's death, purchased from the Duc d'Épernon, and which bore her name from 1664 to the end of the century. The Hôtel de Longueville of 1642 was the old Hôtel d'Alençon, situated in the Rue des Poulies. It was a very ancient and a very imposing building, with immense gardens, which extended as far as the Louvre. On its left-hand side, as one looked towards the Seine, was the Hôtel, or Palais, du Petit-Bourbon, in those days a kind of annex of the Louvre, where the young King, Louis XIV., gave on several occasions splendid balls, and whose theatre was lent to Molière on his return with his troupe to Paris in 1658. When, in 1663, Louis XIV. decided to extend the eastern portion of the Louvre, the Petit-Bourbon and the Hôtel de Longueville were demolished together with several other hôtels in the same street."—Victor Cousin, *la Jeunesse de Madame de Longueville*.

that she was indebted for not a little of the immense popularity which she enjoyed, particularly among her literary acquaintances.

Madame de Longueville did not love her husband, and her pride was naturally wounded by his preference for Madame de Montbazon, his connection with whom continued, in spite of the remonstrances of *Madame la Princesse*. However, the duke was a good-natured, easy-going man, who, if she could not love, she could at least tolerate, and her sweetness of disposition saved the situation from anything like unpleasantness. But, in return for her complacency, she felt free to allow herself to be adored with an easy conscience, and whenever she appeared in public, she was immediately surrounded by a crowd of worshippers, whose attentions she showed no desire to discourage.

We may here observe that, although Madame de Longueville had that natural desire to please common to all amiable women, which is so frequently mistaken for coquetry, her love of admiration was of a very innocent kind, and her attitude towards the opposite sex seems to have been guided by the precepts of Madame de Sablé and the "*précieuses*" of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, who did not forbid men to serve and adore them, so long as they treated them with the most profound respect.

The object of universal homage, none of her innumerable admirers had yet succeeded in touching her heart. Nevertheless, she was not altogether insensible to the devotion she aroused, and had shown a decided preference for Maurice de Coligny, the elder of the two sons of the Maréchal de Châtillon, who had sighed for her before her marriage.

"I know not," writes Lenet, "whether Coligny was attracted by Madame de Bourbon on account of her beauty, her intelligence, or the respect which he owed her, but I am well aware that, although he only saw her in the midst of company and in the presence of the Princesse de Condé and the Duc d'Enghien, it was said in the end that he entertained sentiments of love for her." The author of an anonymous manuscript preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, whom Victor Cousin cites, is less reticent. According to him, the Duc d'Enghien, an intimate friend of Coligny, was the sympathetic confidant of the young man's devotion to his sister. One day, Enghien showed

Coligny a tender and passionate letter in Gomberville's *Polexandre*, a romance which had at that time a great vogue; and this letter seemed to express so perfectly the sentiments which the latter cherished for Madame de Longueville, that he copied it and begged the duke to find an opportunity of slipping it into the pocket of his sister's dress at a ball which she was to attend that evening. Enghien consented, and "it would appear that the letter was read and that the duchess was not displeased."

Retz, not however at all a trustworthy witness in regard to matters in which he was not personally concerned, declares Coligny's passion was returned and that his informant was none other than the Duc d'Enghien. But against this we have the evidence of a man who was not only one of Coligny's most intimate friends, but, in later years, the acknowledged lover of the lady herself, La Rochefoucauld to wit, who asserts that until the time when his *liaison* with Madame de Longueville began, all those who had attempted to please her had striven in vain. Lest it should be supposed that such an assertion was prompted by vanity rather than by a regard for the truth, we may mention that at the time La Rochefoucauld wrote, his relations with the princess were decidedly strained, and that far from endeavouring to conceal her failings, he does not hesitate to magnify them. Furthermore, there is a well-informed and impartial witness to the innocence of Madame de Longueville's relations with Coligny in the person of Madame de Motteville, who tells us that in 1643 the former "still bore a great reputation for virtue and prudence," and that her only fault was that she "did not dislike admiration and praise." And, finally, we have the testimony of one who was certainly very far from prejudiced in the lady's favour. In 1644, Mazarin traced in his *Carnets* a very severe portrait of Madame de Longueville, in which the following sentence occurs: "She is generally very cold to every one, and, if she is fond of gallantry, it is not in the least because she has any evil intention, but in order that she may win followers and friends for her brother (Enghien)."*

Nevertheless, however innocent the connection of these two young people may have been—and that it was innocent, in view of the evidence that we have just cited, there is no reason to doubt—it was to be attended, as we shall

* See pp. 89, 90, *infra*.

presently see, by the most tragic consequences, and to be to Madame de Longueville a source of lifelong regret.

Less than six months after the death of his great Minister, Louis XIII. followed him to the grave, leaving a King of four years old, the regency in the hands of a Spanish princess assisted by a badly constituted and divided Council, the Northern frontier of France threatened by the Spaniards, and all the elements of disaffection which Richelieu had so sternly repressed ready to burst into activity once more.

Well indeed was it for France that at so critical a moment in her history she should have possessed two such men as Mazarin and the young Duc d'Enghien, the one as capable of dealing with faction at home as was the other with the enemy in the field! Enghien, who had just received the command of the army in Flanders, which had been promised him by Richelieu, in recognition of his fidelity to the Cardinal during the conspiracy of Cinq-Mars and of the submission to which ambition had lately prompted him, was informed of the King's death by a special courier, who had travelled with all possible speed from Paris to bring him the news. The Spaniards were laying siege to Rocroi, a town at the head of the Forest of Ardennes, poorly fortified and garrisoned, and of considerable strategic importance, since its fall would leave France open to invasion. Contrary to the advice of the Maréchal de l'Hôpital, who had been sent to restrain the fiery ardour of the youthful commander, and counselled him to be content with throwing reinforcements into the beleaguered town, he determined to give them battle without delay. There can be no doubt that his decision was a wise one. The moral effect of a victory at such a moment would be even greater than its military effect, and would earn for the new régime a consideration both at home and abroad that would go far to counterbalance the evil results of divided counsels; while, even if he failed, he could at least count upon inflicting such severe losses upon the enemy as would obviate all danger of an invasion for that year at least.

The armies met in the plain before Rocroi in the early morning of May 19, the same day and at almost the same hour that Louis XIII. was laid to rest at Saint-Denis. The Spaniards, who were commanded by Don Francisco

de Mello, had a slight preponderance over the French in cavalry and a considerable one in infantry; but the French cavalry was much superior to that of the enemy. The result was for some time in doubt. Enghien, who commanded on the right wing, broke the forces opposed to him; but, on the left, La Ferté-Senneterre and L'Hôpital were driven back in confusion and their artillery captured. The Baron de Sirot, however, who commanded the reserve, rallied the fugitives of the shattered left wing and checked the advance of the victorious Spaniards; and a masterly movement on the part of Enghien decided the day. Avoiding the Spanish reserve under the Comte de Fontaine,* which had not yet come into action, he made a sudden and furious charge at the head of his cavalry upon the rear of the enemy's right wing, already fully occupied with Sirot's corps. Taken thus between two fires, the Spaniards broke and fled, and, though their reserve, which comprised some of the best infantry in Europe, maintained an obstinate resistance and repulsed three cavalry charges led by Enghien in person, assailed as it was on all sides by horse, foot, and artillery, it was eventually compelled to sue for quarter.† The loss of the Spaniards was very heavy; French authorities place the number of killed at as high a figure as 7,000, and the prisoners at 6,000, though these numbers are probably exaggerated, while the whole of their baggage and artillery fell into the hands of the victors. The French lost about 2,000.

It is easy to imagine the joy of Madame de Longueville and the whole Condé family when Nogent la Moussaye, who had served as the Duc d'Enghien's principal aide-de-camp on that eventful day, arrived in Paris with the news of the victory. All the poets of *Madame la Princesse*, from Voiture downwards, vied with one another in celebrating the exploits of the young commander, whom they compared, somewhat prematurely, to Cæsar, Alexander, and other heroes of antiquity. The flags and standards, over 250 in number, which had been taken from the Spaniards and which, pierced by balls and torn by sabres, bore eloquent testimony to the fury of the conflict, were exhibited for several days in the vast salons of the Hôtel

* He was a Burgundian nobleman in the Spanish service.

† Victor Cousin states the Spanish reserve was almost entirely destroyed, but this is incorrect.

de Condé, whither immense crowds flocked to view them, before being removed to Notre-Dame to add brilliancy to the *Te Deum* sung to celebrate the victory. On all sides nothing was heard but praises of the Duc d'Enghien ; of his bravery, his military genius, his piety in causing the whole army to give thanks upon the field of battle for the victory which God had vouchsafed to them, his humanity towards the wounded, both victors and vanquished, and his magnanimity in demanding for his lieutenants all the rewards of victory, since he himself desired nothing but the glory. The enthusiasm abated only to burst forth again three months later, when intelligence arrived that Thionville, the reduction of which had been unsuccessfully attempted in 1639, had surrendered to the young general, and that the entrance to Germany, by way of the Moselle, lay open to the French.

The task of Mazarin was far harder than that of Enghien. The soldier could count upon the enthusiastic devotion of every man under his command ; the Minister, in the first weeks at least of his rule, upon the co-operation of those only who were bound to him by the ties of self-interest. On the death of Richelieu, those whom the imperious Minister had exiled or imprisoned had returned to Court, determined, now that their redoubtable enemy was no more, to possess themselves of the spoils for which they had so long hungered. They thought to find in Anne of Austria another Marie de' Medici, who would reverse the policy of her husband, abandon his Ministers, and hasten to give her confidence to some favourite of her own, or rather of their, choosing. Their hopes were natural. The Regent, a sister of the King of Spain, must surely, it was believed, desire to come to terms with her brother and put an end to the sanguinary struggle between the country of her birth and that of her adoption. And what in the eyes of a woman could more nobly inaugurate her government than the giving of peace to an exhausted nation ? With the reversal of the late King's policy, would come the fall of the Ministers to whom its continuance had been entrusted, all the more certainly, since the Queen could not but regard them as the creatures of Richelieu, who had persecuted her and exiled her friends. As for the little Italian diplomat whom Louis XIII. had left at the head of the Government, they despised even more than they hated him. Out of

deference to the wishes of her late husband, the Queen-Mother, they supposed, would doubtless desire his continuance in office for a few weeks, until the Duc de Beaufort, or the Bishop of Beauvais, or some other of her particular friends had acquired sufficient experience of affairs to supersede him. Then he would disappear, as Sully had disappeared, and the council-chamber would know him no more.

Thus argued the "Importants," as the aristocrats who aspired to control the Government were called, from the importance they ascribed to themselves and the high pretensions which they were at no pains to conceal. They were a formidable party and exercised considerable influence at the Court, in the salons, in the Parlement, and in the provinces. At their head were the two great turbulent Houses of Vendôme and Guise. The Duc de Beaufort, the second son of César de Vendôme, has already been mentioned as an unsuccessful suitor for the hand of Anne de Bourbon. He was a handsome young man of seven-and-twenty, with long golden curls, which were greatly admired by the ladies. Already the idol of the Parisian populace, he seemed not unlikely to become the idol of the Queen as well. On the day of the late King's death, it was to Beaufort that she had turned for protection against the crowd of courtiers who pursued and almost mobbed her, a preference which had led to a violent quarrel between the duke and the Prince de Condé; and, during the first weeks of the Regency, she appeared to lean much upon him. Beaufort, however, was arrogant, hot-headed, and quite incapable of giving Anne the political assistance she required. Moreover, to govern the Queen, who was very coquettish in a strictly decorous kind of way, and attached great importance to high-flown compliments, languishing looks, and delicate little attentions, it was necessary to begin by flattering her; and the young duke had far too good an opinion of his own fascinations to play "*mourant*" even to a queen.

Allied with Beaufort, was Henri de Lorraine, the head of the House of Guise, celebrated by his amours, his reckless courage, and his follies. Born in 1614, he had been intended for the Church, and at fifteen found himself Archbishop of Rheims, a post which had become almost hereditary in his family. Never was there a person more

unfitted for an archiepiscopal career; his life would have been an occasion for scandal even in the Italy of the Borgias. Not content with lay mistresses, he availed himself of the facilities which his office afforded him to make love to the brides of the Church, and the discipline of at least one convent in his diocese was completely subverted by the interest which his Grace affected in the welfare of its inmates. Finally, he fell in love with the beautiful Anne de Gonzague, the future Princess Palatine, one of the three daughters of the Duc de Nevers, with whom he contracted a secret marriage in 1638. On the news of the death of his elder brother, the Prince de Joinville, and of his father, Charles de Lorraine, in 1639 and 1640, he left his archbishopric, took the title of Duc de Guise, and irritated by the action of Richelieu, who had sought to deprive him of his benefices, threw himself into the revolt of Soissons and Bouillon. After the suppression of the rebellion, he fled to Brussels, whither his wife followed him, only to find that he had repudiated their marriage and contracted another alliance with Honorine de Grimberg, the beautiful and "richly-left" widow of the Comte de Bossu.

Two years passed, and then the mitred duke, who was the most inconstant, as well as the most susceptible, of men, having wearied of the charms of his new wife and squandered her fortune, repudiated her also, returned to Paris, where, now that Richelieu and Louis XIII. were dead, he had no longer anything to fear, and joined the party of the "Importants," of whom his vanity and incapacity marked him out as a fitting leader.

A personage who had more to hope from the Queen's favour than the Duc de Guise was the Bishop of Beauvais, who had long been her Majesty's Grand Almoner and was devoted to her interests. He had already been made a Minister and recommended for a cardinal's hat, and confidently anticipated that he would be elevated to the head of the Cabinet when the time for getting rid of Mazarin had arrived. The bishop was a worthy and pious man, but utterly incapable. "Of all the idiots I have known," writes Retz, "he was the most idiotic."

The feminine element counted for much in the counsels of the "Importants," as it did in every intrigue of the time. Its most prominent representatives were two ladies who had been among the Queen's most intimate friends in

former days: the celebrated Anne de Rohan, Duchesse de Chevreuse, an indefatigable intriguer both in love and politics, and Marie de Hautefort, afterwards the Maréchale Duchesse de Schomberg, whose chaste amours with Louis XIII. are among the few diverting incidents in the life of that most melancholy of monarchs. Both had incurred the enmity of Richelieu and had been banished from Court: but, now that Anne was free to do as she willed, she hastened to recall them. Very different in character, they were at one in their hatred of Mazarin, whom they regarded as the creature of their arch-enemy Richelieu, and as the inheritor of his personal prejudices as well as his policy; and were ready to move Heaven and earth to procure his dismissal. Other prominent members of the faction were Beaufort's father, the Duc de Vendôme, the unworthy son of Henri IV. and the gentle Gabrielle d'Estrées; the Marquis de Châteauneuf, stigmatized by Richelieu as "*la cabale incarnée*," who had recently been released from Vincennes, where he had atoned for his devotion to Madame de Chevreuse by a captivity of ten years, and who looked forward to recovering his former office of Keeper of the Seals and to becoming the most influential member of the Ministry; and the Duchesse de Montbazon, who counted several of the leaders of the party among her past or present lovers.

Mazarin, as his *Carnets* abundantly prove, was fully aware of the intrigues of his enemies and under no illusion as to the insecurity of his position: "The Prince de Condé believes that Madame de Chevreuse, when she arrives here, will effect a special treaty between France and Spain, to the exclusion of all others." . . . "Beauvais works constantly to acquire friends and take away mine. He works against me at every turn. He receives Châteauneuf and throws himself into the arms of Beaufort and Madame de Montbazon." . . . "The 'Importants' have told *Monsieur* [Gaston d'Orléans] that her Majesty is the most dissembling person in the world. Although apparently she makes much of me, she really dissembles, from the necessity of her affairs, and has her confidence in them." . . . "The enemies combine to do me harm; Madame de Chevreuse inspires them all. It is certain that they continue to meet in the garden of the Tuileries;" and so forth.*

* Cited by Mr. J. B. Perkins, "France under Mazarin."

To the powerful faction arrayed against him, Mazarin could, of course, oppose the old partisans of Richelieu, particularly the Condés and the families connected with them by marriage or friendship. But his *Carnets* show how little reliance was to be placed on the support of *Monsieur le Prince*,* whose defection would leave him with only such allies as had everything to lose and nothing to gain by a change of Ministers. There was but one road to safety: to secure the unequivocal favour of the Queen; not only her confidence, for that would avail him little, if his enemy Beaufort possessed her affection, but her heart as well ("When one has the heart, one has everything," he wrote, many years later); and to this end all his energies were henceforth directed.

He succeeded, as we know, and succeeded beyond his most sanguine expectations; but his task was one of extraordinary difficulty, surrounded as Anne was by favourites of both sexes, eager to avail themselves of any and every means to prejudice her mind against the Minister; and for many weeks his fate trembled in the balance, and his *Carnets* during this time are full of complaints of the Queen's dissimulation and of her refusal to accord him her entire confidence: "I could believe I had gained her heart," he writes, "but her Majesty talks with me only on affairs of State." And again: "If her Majesty wishes to retain me, so that I can be of service, let her throw aside her mask."

That the battle was not a much longer and more difficult one was due to a social complication, in itself of no importance, which precipitated the downfall of his enemies, and left him free to continue his wooing, untroubled by the machinations of the Vendômes and the Chevreuses and the virtuous remonstrances of Mlle. de Hautefort.

* "Beaufort and Beauvais are in league against me. I endure trouble to preserve myself, because I am constantly pursued, being able to say, without vanity, that Condé first, and then many others, think they could have better terms from her Majesty, if she were not counselled by a person disinterested and firm as I am."

CHAPTER VI

A COURT SCANDAL

IN siding with Mazarin, the House of Condé had drawn upon itself the hatred of the "Importants." This enmity, however, scarcely extended to Madame de Longueville, who, up to the period of the Fronde, took but little interest in politics, and whose beauty and amiability placed her outside the realm of party strife. Unfortunately, however, with the feminine element in the cabal, political considerations were not the only ones which had weight, and in the Duchesse de Montbazon the young princess had a bitter and formidable enemy.

Marie de Bretagne, Duchesse de Montbazon, was, after Madame de Longueville, the most beautiful woman of the Court; she was also the most unprincipled.* Married, at the age of sixteen, to Hercule de Rohan, Duc de Montbazon, the father by his first marriage of Madame de Chevreuse, she soon showed that her nuptial vows sat very lightly upon her. Vain and shallow and quite destitute of those qualities which made such women as Madame de Longueville and Madame de Sablé the delight of the society which they frequented, she was exceedingly shrewd where her own interests were concerned, and absolutely without scruple as to the means she employed to attain her ends. Retz draws of her an unpleasing picture: "Madame de Montbazon was a very great beauty. Modesty was wanting in her manner. Her jargon, in a dull time, might have supplied the defects of her mind. In gallantry, she seldom kept faith, in affairs, never. She loved nothing but her own pleasure, and above her pleasure her interest. I have never seen a person who in vice preserved so little respect for virtue."†

In appearance, Madame de Montbazon was tall and majestic—"a Colossus," says Tallemant des Réaux,

* She was the daughter of the Comte de Vertus, a descendant of a bastard brother of Queen Anne of Brittany, and Mademoiselle de la Varenne Fouquet, a lady celebrated for her beauty and her gallantry, both of which she bequeathed to her child.

† Retz, *Mémoires*.

whose weakness for exaggeration, and worse, is, however, well known. Her shape was admirable, though with a tendency to *embonpoint*. The fire of her splendid eyes "penetrated even the most insensible hearts," and her jet-black hair afforded a piquant contrast to the ivory whiteness of her skin. Her principal defects seem to have been a rather large nose and thin lips, which gave to her countenance an air of severity, which she certainly did not possess; in short, she was an excellent representative of a certain type of beauty which never lacks its devotees, though her opulent charms compared unfavourably with the more refined attractiveness of Madame de Longueville, as did the freedom of her speech and the boldness of her manner with the exquisite courtesy and modesty which distinguished the young princess.

Madame de Montbazon "claimed universal admiration," but, though she was intensely vain, she was even more ambitious and mercenary, and if her beauty were her idol, it was also her capital, by means of which she sought to secure for herself fortune and influence. She accordingly took an infinitude of pains to heighten and preserve it, and it would appear with far greater success than commonly rewards such industry. At a ball given by Mazarin, at the Carnival of 1647, she came "decked with pearls and with cherry-coloured feathers on her head, and, though she was then more than forty years of age, she was still dazzlingly lovely, showing thereby that a fine autumn is always beautiful."* And down to the time of her death, ten years later, her beauty seems to have suffered but little alteration.

Madame de Montbazon hated Madame de Longueville with all the rancour of her sordid and vindictive nature. Her vanity was mortally wounded at the sight of this young woman, with her great name, her wonderful beauty, her hardly less remarkable intelligence, and her charming manners, captivating all hearts and threatening to depose her from the throne which she had so long occupied. But she had a more substantial grievance against her. Previous to his marriage with Mlle. de Bourbon, the Duc de Longueville had been her *amant en titre*, and the connection was one from which the lady

* Madame de Motteville, *Mémoires*. Madame de Motteville is in error in regard to the lady's age. In 1647, Madame de Montbazon was only thirty-five, having been born in 1612.

had reaped very considerable advantages. Madame de Montbazon had even cherished the hope that when her consort, who was well advanced in years, should be gathered to his fathers, the connection might be regularized, and her mortification at the destruction of her plans in this direction was very keen. Nor was it lessened by the fact that, not content with depriving her of a possible husband, *Madame la Princesse* was seeking to deprive her of a lover as well, and was using every persuasion to induce her son-in-law to break off all intercourse with this dangerous siren. In this, she had not yet succeeded; but M. de Longueville, who valued his domestic peace and was besides by no means insensible to the charms of his beautiful young wife, was neither so devoted nor so generous an adorer as he had once been; and Madame de Montbazon had every reason to fear that ere long both his visits and his presents might cease altogether.

The duchess was a dangerous enemy. Her lovers, past and present, were many and influential, her admirers numberless. She had tender relations with both Guise and Beaufort—the latter of whom had a grudge of his own against Madame de Longueville, for the marked coldness with which she had formerly received his advances—and, through them, could command the support of the Houses of Vendôme and Lorraine. Untroubled by scruple, she was prepared to make use of any weapon that lay ready to her hand to injure the woman whom she so bitterly hated. Nor was it long before she found one.

One evening at the beginning of August, 1643, Madame de Montbazon was entertaining a number of her friends in her hôtel in the Rue de Béthisy, when two letters, evidently dropped by one of the company, were picked up. The letters, which were unsigned, were in a woman's hand and addressed to one of the opposite sex, for whom it was obvious that the writer entertained a very tender regard. The company forthwith began to speculate as to the identity of the parties concerned; and Madame de Montbazon, thinking the opportunity too good a one to be lost, declared her conviction that the letters were in the handwriting of Madame de Longueville, and that they had fallen from the pocket of her admirer, Maurice de Coligny, who had just left the house. Here are the two epistles, which *la Grande Mademoiselle* has preserved for us.

I.

"I should much regret the change in your conduct, did I deem myself less worthy of a continuation of your affection. I confess to you that, so long as I believed it to be true and warm, mine gave you all the advantages that you could desire. Now, hope nothing more from me than the esteem which I owe to your discretion. I have too much pride to share the passion which you have so often sworn to me, and I do not desire to punish your negligence in visiting me in any other way than that of depriving you entirely of my society. I beg you to visit me no more, since I have no more the power of commanding your presence."

II.

"At what conclusion have you arrived after so long a silence? Do you not know that the same pride which rendered me sensible to your past affection forbids me to endure the false appearance of its continuation? You say that my suspicions and my caprices render you the most unhappy person possible to conceive. I assure you that I believe no such thing, although I cannot deny that you have perfectly loved me, as you must confess that my esteem has worthily recompensed you. In that respect we have done each other justice, and I do not desire to have in the end less goodness, if your conduct responds to my intentions. You would find them less unreasonable if you had more passion, and the difficulties of seeing me would only augment instead of diminishing it. I suffer for loving too much, and you for not loving enough. If I must believe you, let us exchange temperaments. I shall find repose in doing my duty, and you must fail in yours, in order to obtain your liberty. I do not perceive that I forget the manner in which I passed the winter with you, and I speak to you as freely as I have done heretofore. I trust that you will make a good use of it, and that I shall have no cause to regret having been overcome in the resolution I had made to return to it no more. I shall remain in my lodging three or four days in succession, and shall be seen only in the evening. You know the reason for that."

So piquant an incident was soon the talk of the whole

Court. These letters were not forged, as several chroniclers have stated, but had been written by Madame de Fouquerolles to the handsome Marquis de Maulevrier, who had had the carelessness to drop them, and dared not publicly acknowledge his loss, from fear of exposing the lady. He went, however, to the Prince de Marsillac, afterwards Duc de la Rochefoucauld, who was a common friend of both Madame de Montbazon and himself, told him his secret, and begged him to employ his good offices to hush up the affair. This Marsillac readily promised to do, and, having represented to Madame de Montbazon that it was to her interest to act generously and avert a scandal, in which she herself would probably be the chief sufferer, persuaded her to surrender the letters to him. He then showed them to the Prince and Princesse de Condé, Madame de Sablé, and Madame de Rambouillet, who all declared that the handwriting bore not the slightest resemblance to that of Madame de Longueville ; and, that lady's innocence having been thus fully established, they were burned in the presence of the Queen.*

It would have been well if the matter had been allowed to rest there, and such was the advice of the Duc de Longueville, whose position, as the husband of the injured lady and the lover of her calumniator, was, as may be imagined, no enviable one. Nor was Madame de Longueville, who was now enceinte, and had gone to stay with the Du Vigeans at La Barre, to escape the annoyance of this affair, any more anxious to make a stir than was the duke. Nothing, indeed, was more alien to her sweet and amiable character than vindictiveness, and though deeply incensed by the aspersions of Madame de Montbazon and her friends, she was well aware that they had from the first obtained but scant credence outside the party of the "Importants," and she had therefore decided, both for her own and her husband's sake, to overlook the outrage.

Madame la Princesse, unfortunately, was not of the same mind. That lady, who detested Madame de Montbazon and whose natural arrogance had not been diminished by the victories of the Duc d'Enghien, and the glory which, in consequence, enveloped the House of Condé, was beside herself with indignation at the affront put upon her daughter by that "cook's grand-daughter,"

* La Rochefoucauld, *Mémoires*.

as she styled the guilty duchess.* Nothing would satisfy her, she declared, but a public reparation, and she even went so far as to threaten that, if the Queen and the Government declined to protect the honour of her family, she and all her relatives would withdraw from Court. The matter now became an affair of State. Beaufort, Guise, and the "Importants" used every endeavour to prevail upon the Queen to refuse to the outraged mother the satisfaction which she demanded. But Mazarin, whose favour with his royal mistress was every day increasing, while Beaufort and his adherents were as steadily losing ground, threw his influence into the opposite scale. The astute Italian was not slow to perceive how this little disturbance might be used to further his designs. By supporting *Madame la Princesse's* demand, he would earn the gratitude of the Condé family, the continuance of whose support was so necessary to him at this juncture; while Anne's decision in favour of a public apology would discredit not only Madame de Montbazon herself, but all the "Importants" who had identified themselves with her cause, prove to those who still hesitated upon which side to declare themselves how little influence the cabal really possessed over the Queen's mind, and possibly drive the hot-headed Beaufort to commit some act of folly which would bring about the ruin of the whole party. He accordingly pointed out to her Majesty—who was on very friendly terms with the Princesse de Condé and her daughter, while, on the other hand, the notorious gallantries of Madame de Montbazon had strongly prejudiced her against that lady—that, having regard to the provocation given, the exalted position of the injured party, and the great services of the Duc d'Enghien, *Madame la Princesse's* demand was not an unreasonable one, and that, in any case, it was of the utmost importance to conciliate so powerful a family as the Condés, lest the peace of the Regency should be troubled.

Mazarin's representations carried the day, and the Queen set out for La Barre, where the Princesse de Condé had just joined her daughter, to promise them her protection. "After the usual salutations," says Madame de

* In reference to her father, the Marquis de la Varenne Fouquet, who had been equerry of the kitchen to Henri IV., and of whom the Duchesse de Barre remarked: "*Il a plus gaigné à porter les poulets* [love-letters] *du roi mon frère qu'à larder ceux de sa cuisine.*"—Tallemant des Réaux.

Motteville, "the Princess de Condé conducted the Queen into an inner room, where mother and daughter threw themselves at her feet and demanded justice for the outrage which Madame de Montbazon had inflicted on them. This they did with so much feeling and so many tears, that the Queen, having done me the honour to tell me these particulars on her return from La Barre, said to me that the princesses had made her pity them, and she had promised that they should be entirely justified, which was done with all requisite ceremonial."

Madame de Montbazon received orders from the Queen to repair to the Hôtel de Condé, and there to make a public apology to *Madame la Princesse* for what had been said at her house. The speech she was to make was drafted by Mazarin, who was apparently working to settle the quarrel to the satisfaction of both parties. "I was present," continues Madame de Motteville, "on the evening that all these important trifles were discussed. I remember that I wondered in my mind at the follies and the silly preoccupations of that society. The Queen was in her grand cabinet, and *Madame la Princesse* excited and terrible with her, making a crime of *lèse-majesté* out of this affair. Madame de Chevreuse, involved for a thousand reasons in the quarrel of her step-mother, was with the Cardinal, composing the speech which Madame de Montbazon was to make. Over every word there was a parley of an hour. The Cardinal, playing the go-between, went from one side to the other to accommodate their differences, as if this peace were necessary to the welfare of France, and his own in particular. I never saw, I think, such complete mummery."*

On the appointed day, the criminal duchess duly proceeded to the Hôtel de Condé, where she found *Madame la Princesse* awaiting her, surrounded by a great crowd of relatives and friends, whom she had invited to witness the humiliation of her enemy. Among those present, were Gaston d'Orléans and *la Grande Mademoiselle*, the latter of whom is careful to inform us that she had little regard for the Princesse de Condé, or indeed, for any of her family, but that she could not in courtesy refuse to be present on an occasion of so much importance. Madame de Montbazon entered the room in full Court toilette and with an air of the utmost disdain, and, approaching *Madame*

* *Mémoires.*

la Princesse, proceeded to read from a paper tied to her fan the apology which had been agreed upon, and which was as follows :

" Madame, I come here to assure you that I am entirely innocent of the wickedness of which I am accused : no person of honourable feeling would give utterance to such a calumny. Had I committed such a fault, willingly would I endure every punishment which the Queen might impose. I would never more show myself in the world, and would humbly entreat your pardon. I beg you to believe that I can never fail in the respect which I owe you, or in the opinion which I hold of the virtue and merit of Madame de Longueville."

The reply of the Princesse de Condé was in these words :

" Madame, I willingly believe the assurance that you give me that you took no part in the calumny which has been published. I owe this deference to the commands of the Queen."*

" When such ceremonies as these have to be performed," writes *Mademoiselle*, " it is neither usual nor easy to perform them with a good grace; and the manner of the self-accused plainly indicated that the heart in no way repented of the fault which she had committed.† Neither was the speech she made any better received by *Madame la Princesse*, who returned even a shorter answer, with a spirit little appeased, and without relinquishing that haughtiness of demeanour which accompanied her every action. It was only the semblance of a reconciliation."‡

The storm indeed was by no means allayed. Far from satisfied with having publicly humiliated her daughter's calumniator, the Princesse de Condé begged the Queen to excuse her from attending any function at which Madame de Montbazon was to be present ; and her Majesty, thinking the matter of no great consequence, consented, little foreseeing the embarrassment which this would entail. It happened, some days later, that Madame de Chevreuse

* Mlle. de Montpensier, *Mémoires*.

† Another witness of this little comedy, Madame de Motteville, tells us that the duchess read her apology " in the haughtiest and proudest manner possible ; making a grimace which seemed to say : ' I scoff at all I say.' "

‡ Mlle. de Montpensier, *Mémoires*. According to Olivier d'Ormesson, the Duchesse de Montbazon began her speech without saying " *Madame*." The Princesse de Condé complained, and the duchess had to recommence with this respectful addition.

gave a "collation" to the Regent in Renard's garden,* and Anne invited *Madame la Princesse* to accompany her, assuring her that she need have no fear of encountering Madame de Montbazon, since she had been informed that the duchess was slightly indisposed and confined to her house. On hearing this, the princess willingly joined the Queen's party, but, on entering the garden, the Regent was told that Madame de Montbazon was already there, and was, moreover, assisting her step-daughter to receive her guests. Anne was greatly annoyed at this mishap, and her embarrassment was increased when the Princesse de Condé announced her intention of retiring, in order not to disturb the harmony of the fête. This, however, the Queen would not permit, remarking that she herself must remedy the matter, inasmuch as it was on the faith of her assurance that the princess had come. She accordingly sent one of her ladies to Madame de Montbazon, to explain the difficulty which had arisen and to beg her to feign illness and withdraw, in order to spare her Majesty further embarrassment. But the haughty duchess declined to fly before her enemy and imprudently ignored the royal command, whereupon the Queen, greatly offended at such want of respect, immediately quitted the garden and returned to the Louvre, accompanied by the Princesse de Condé.

Mazarin was, of course, informed of what had occurred, and did not fail to fan the flame of her Majesty's resentment; and, though *Monsieur*, "who, having loved Madame de Montbazon in former days, had not forgotten the fact,"† interceded in the lady's favour, his intervention was of no avail, and a day or two later one of the King's gentlemen-in-ordinary waited upon the delinquent with the following letter:

"My Cousin,—The discontent which the Queen my mother has experienced, at the want of respect which you have shown her during the last few days, in regard to the

* Renard's garden was situated a little beyond the Tuileries, at the left-hand corner of what is now the Place de la Concorde. There were two long terraces, which commanded a fine view of the Cours-la-Reine, the fashionable drive along the banks of the Seine laid out by Marie de' Medici, in 1616, and the open country beyond it. Renard was the most celebrated caterer of his time, and in summer his grounds were a favourite rendezvous of the fashionable world, which met there to gossip, partake of refreshments, and listen to the music which he provided.

† Madame de Motteville, *Mémoires*.

wishes which she expressed to you, obliges me to send to you, wherever you may be, the Sieur de Neuilly, one of my gentlemen-in-ordinary, with this letter, which I am writing to tell you that you are to return to your house at Rochefort and there remain until you receive a further order from me. Promising myself your obedience, I shall not give you a more express command, and meanwhile pray God that He will have you, my cousin, in His holy keeping. Written from Paris, 22 August, 1643.

"(Signed) LOUIS.

"(Undersigned) GUÉNÉGAUD."*

The disgrace of Madame de Montbazon, as Mazarin had doubtless foreseen, exasperated the "Importants" to the last degree. Beaufort had been bitterly incensed against the Cardinal, by the skilful manner in which the latter had foiled his impudent attempt to persuade the Queen to take away the Admiralty from the young Duc de Brézé and bestow it upon himself, and the exile of his mistress put the finishing touch to his resentment. Wearying of intrigue, in which he felt himself to be no match for the insinuating Italian, he had already determined to have recourse to force and dispose of Mazarin as Luynes had disposed of Concini, instigated thereto by Mesdames de Montbazon and de Chevreuse, who were even less scrupulous than the male members of the cabal as to the means they employed to attain their ends. Twice arrangements were made to assassinate the Cardinal as he was riding in his coach through the streets. But, on one occasion, Mazarin happened to be accompanied by

Cet homme gros et court,
Ce grand comte d'Harcourt,†

the hero of the brilliant Italian campaign of 1639, and, on the other, by Gaston d'Orléans; and the conspirators, fearing that in the struggle one of these distinguished persons might be killed, and the ignominy of a double murder rest on them, dared not make the attempt. However, they were far from abandoning their design, and resolved to lie in wait for the Cardinal, as he went each

* *Archives des Affaires étrangères*, published by Victor Cousin, *la Jeunesse de Madame de Longueville.*

† See p. 45, *supra.*

evening from his hôtel in the Rue de l'Oratoire* to the Louvre.

The night of August 31 was fixed for the attempt; but Mazarin, excellently well served by his spies, as Richelieu had been, had received warning and did not leave his house until the following day. He then repaired to the Louvre, where rumours of an attempt on his life were already being circulated, laid the information he had received before the Queen, and quietly but firmly called upon her to choose between his enemies and himself. Anne, over whose mind and heart the Minister was now beginning to establish his ascendency, and who was naturally indignant at the atrocious designs of the persons whom she had honoured with her friendship, did not hesitate, and the ruin of the "Importants" was decided upon. On September 2, Beaufort was arrested at the Louvre and conveyed to Vincennes, where he remained for five years; his father, the Duc de Vendôme, and his elder brother, the Duc de Mercœur, were banished to Anet; the Bishop of Beauvais received orders to retire to his diocese, where, we are told, he served a Heavenly King with much more wisdom than he had served an earthly one; Madame de Chevreuse was exiled to Dampierre and afterwards to Anjou; while Châteauneuf was sent to his government of Touraine. The pious Mlle. de Hautefort, who had of course taken no part in the plot against Mazarin's life, was allowed to remain at Court for some months longer; but her influence over the Queen was gone, and, early in 1644, Anne, tired of her continual remonstrances against the growing intimacy between herself and the Cardinal, sent her to join her exiled friends. From the day of Beaufort's arrest, the triumph of Mazarin was assured, and a few days later he was able to write in his *Carnets*: "I should no longer doubt, since the Queen, in an excess of goodness, has assured me that nothing can take from me the part which she has graciously given me."

About the middle of November, 1643, the Duc d'Enghien returned to Paris, to receive the felicitations of his family and friends and to resume his "chaste amours" with Mlle. du Vigean, who, now that she was beyond his reach,

* The Hôtel de Clèves. It had been built for Catherine de Clèves, widow of Henri I., Duc de Guise, assassinated at Blois in 1588. It remained standing until 1758. The Rue de l'Oratoire was also called the Rue du Louvre.

at least in a matrimonial sense, possessed all the added attractiveness of forbidden fruit. During his absence, his neglected little wife had borne him a son (July 30) and *Monsieur le Prince* had at once sent off a messenger to announce the glad tidings to the duke, who was with the army before Thionville. But Enghien showed little eagerness to express his paternal joy, for he kept the messenger with him to assist at the reduction of the town, nor was it until Thionville had capitulated some days later, that he condescended to write a few lines to the young mother.

An eulogistic biographer declares that, on arriving at the Hôtel de Condé and perceiving his son, "his tender and magnanimous soul enjoyed a pleasure more dear and more pure than that of victory"; while the *Gazette* asserts that "to express the pleasure which his (Enghien's) presence had occasioned the Prince de Condé and all his family, would be as difficult as to represent the joy which the duke experienced at sight of the son born to him in the midst of so many laurels and popular acclamations." The family correspondence, on the other hand, proves that, at this time, Enghien certainly gave no indication of the intense affection which he was to bestow upon his son in later years, and he took advantage of the fact that the Court was still in mourning for the late King to have him baptized without the customary rejoicings. The child, to whom Mazarin and *Madame la Princesse* stood sponsors, received the name of Henri Jules, and took the title of Duc d'Albret.

If the poor Duchesse d'Enghien had anticipated that the birth of a son would prove a link between her husband and herself, she was doomed to disappointment, for she found herself more neglected than ever. Soon after her confinement, she had fallen so seriously ill, that the duke had been able for a moment to count upon regaining his freedom; and it is to be feared that he received the news of her convalescence with very mixed feelings. Disappointed in the hope of any assistance from Nature, he now appealed to his mother to use her influence with the Regent to obtain the dissolution of his marriage; and *Madame la Princesse*—who, since the death of Richelieu, seems to have transferred to her innocent daughter-in-law the hatred which she had vowed against the Cardinal at the time of the execution of her brother, Henri de Montmorency, and had sought to atone for the hypocritical

attitude she had been forced to assume during the Minister's lifetime by treating her with the coldest disdain —readily promised him her aid.

On the other hand, Madame de Longueville, although she had hitherto been the sympathetic confidante of her brother and Mlle. du Vigean, and had, moreover, possibly in deference to the wishes of *Madame la Princesse*, ignored as much as possible the existence of her sister-in-law—a point upon which we observe, her "posthumous lover," Victor Cousin, is discreetly silent—declined to be a party to so discreditable an intrigue. Nor did she content herself with an attitude of neutrality, but decided to reveal to the Prince de Condé the projects which were being discussed in his family.

To his honour, be it said, *Monsieur le Prince* had never wavered in his loyalty to the compact which he had made with Richelieu over the Cardinal's niece. If it were not in his nature to show the girl much affection, he understood at least how to constitute himself her protector, and did not cease to employ every means to bring back his son to a wife who was so worthy of his affection. Without his loyal support, it is quite probable that the young duchess would have been repudiated by her unscrupulous husband, for the prestige of Enghien was now so great that it was difficult for the Regent and Mazarin to refuse him anything, though the latter would certainly have endeavoured to protect the niece of his benefactor, and Anne, when approached by *Madame la Princesse* on the subject, had expressed her disapproval in unmistakable terms. But the Prince de Condé, when acquainted by Madame de Longueville with what was going forward, showed the utmost indignation, sent for his son and Mlle. du Vigean, and "said a thousand cruel things to both lover and mistress," after which he advised the duke to return to his military duties as speedily as possible. The latter obeyed, and shortly afterwards bade a touching farewell to Mlle. du Vigean and set out for the army.*

With the disgrace of Madame de Montbazon, the last had not been heard of the calumny which she had started; and its *dénouement* was a tragic one.

The Duc d'Enghien had returned to Paris burning to

* MM. Homberg and Jousselin, *la Femme du Grand Condé*. Duc d'Aumale, *Histoire des Princes de Condé*.

avenge the insult offered to his sister, to whom he was devotedly attached. The proper person to be called to account was of course the malicious duchess's chief admirer, Beaufort, who would appear to have been very industrious in spreading the story of the dropped letters. But that nobleman, being in prison, was beyond his reach, and his righteous indignation was therefore directed against the lady's other gallant, the Duc de Guise. Thanks to his connection with *Monsieur*, who had married, *en secondes noces*, Marguerite of Lorraine, sister of the eccentric Charles IV., and to the fact that he had declined to be a party to the criminal designs of Beaufort, Guise had escaped the disgrace which had overtaken the other leaders of the "Importants" and was still at Court. As, however, the duke, though his family ranked with the Montmorencies above all the rest of the French nobility, was not of royal blood, etiquette forbade Enghien to "call him out;" and he therefore delegated that duty to the man who had perhaps even a better claim than himself to take up the quarrel.

This was of course Maurice de Coligny, who had hitherto remained in the background, at first, from fear of compromising Madame de Longueville, and, later, because he had been seriously ill and therefore unable to call upon her calumniators to maintain their accusations sword in hand. Now, however, he reappeared upon the scene, and announced his intention of challenging the Duc de Guise to mortal combat.

Several writers, Madame de Motteville among the number, have assured us that Madame de Longueville had urged Coligny to this step;* but this seems very improbable, since the most reliable evidence goes to prove that the princess, in marked contrast to her mother, behaved throughout the Montbazon affair with great moderation, and, far from seeking to embitter the quarrel, had endeavoured to ignore it. It is true that, in the end, she had been persuaded by *Madame la Princesse* to join her in demanding reparation of the Queen. But, now that her

* Madame de Motteville, as Victor Cousin points out, herself refutes the rumour to which she gives currency in another passage in her *Memoires*, where she says: "The jealousy which she (Madame de Longueville) felt for Madame de Montbazon, being proportioned to the love she had for her husband, did not carry her so far but that she thought it best to overlook the outrage, since it was of such a nature that she desired to hush it up rather than make it the occasion of a solemn vengeance."

honour had been publicly vindicated, she had nothing whatever to gain by reopening so unpleasant a matter. Her haughty and impetuous brother no doubt thought otherwise, and warmly approved of Coligny's action, even if he did not suggest it. It is unlikely, however, that Coligny needed any persuasion to induce him to demand satisfaction for an outrage which concerned him so nearly; indeed, he would, in all probability, have sought it at a much earlier date, but for the reason we have mentioned.* The descendant of the heroic Admiral did not want for courage and was passionately attached to Madame de Longueville, while the name which his adversary bore was an additional incentive; for the lapse of years had not yet extinguished the fierce hatred which had once existed between the Houses of Châtillon and Guise.

At three o'clock in the afternoon of December 12, 1643, Coligny and Guise met to decide their quarrel in the Place-Royale, which, with its environs, was at that time the most fashionable quarter of Paris. At the right-hand corner, as one entered it by the Rue Royale, from the direction of the Rue Saint-Antoine, was the Hôtel de Rohan, occupied by the widow of the celebrated general and military writer. At the left-hand corner, stood the Hôtel de Chaulnes, celebrated for its magnificent reception-rooms. The imposing Hôtel de Saint-Géran occupied the North-Eastern angle of the square; while at the North-Western corner stood the hôtel inhabited by the young Duc de Richelieu, grand-nephew of the Cardinal, with its far-famed picture gallery. Among other distinguished persons who resided at this period in the Place-Royale, were the Maréchal de Lavardin, the Duc de Villequier, Madame de Sablé, and the Comtesse de Maure. The middle of the square was occupied by a large expanse of turf, divided into six trimly-kept lawns, in the centre of which stood the equestrian statue of Louis XIII., the work of Biard and Daniel de Volterre, which had been erected by Richelieu, in 1639, "as a lasting token of his zeal, his fidelity, and his gratitude."

"What public and domestic events," observes Victor

* On August 6, 1643, that is to say, at the very beginning of the affair, *Madame la Princesse* wrote to Enghien, bidding him impose silence on Coligny: "*Temoignés à Coligny qu'il vous ofenserat s'il temoignet se vouloir interesser dans cète afaire, car il ne fault pas. Brules cète lettre.*"—*Archives de Condé*, published by the Duc d'Aumale.

Cousin, " did not this spot witness throughout the whole of the seventeenth century ! What noble tournaments, what fierce duels, what lovers' meetings ! What conversations did it not hear, worthy of those of the *Decameron !* What gracious creatures inhabited those pavilions, what sumptuous furniture, what treasures of luxury and elegance were not assembled there ! What illustrious personages of every kind have not mounted those beautiful staircases ! Richelieu and Condé, Corneille and Molière passed through it a hundred times ! It is here, walking under this gallery, that Descartes, talking with Pascal, suggested to him the idea of his splendid experiments on the weight of air. It is here also that, one evening, on leaving the hôtel of Madame de Guyménée, the melancholy de Thou received from Cinq-Mars the involuntary confidence concerning the conspiracy which was to bring them both to the scaffold. Finally, it is here that Madame de Sévigné was born, and it is close at hand that she lived."*

In accordance with the then almost invariable custom, Coligny and Guise were each accompanied by a friend, who came to measure swords, as well as their principals. Coligny's second was the Comte d'Estrades, a Gascon gentleman of some experience in this *métier*, while Guise was supported by his equerry, the Marquis de Bridieu, a young noble from the Limousin. Both subsequently distinguished themselves in a worthier kind of warfare, and d'Estrades eventually earned a marshal's bâton. News of the intended duel had got abroad, and the windows and balconies of the surrounding houses were crowded with excited spectators.†

La Rochefoucauld relates that, as he placed himself on guard, Guise remarked to Coligny : " We are about to decide the old quarrel of our two Houses, and it will be seen what a difference there is between the blood of Guise and that of Coligny." It was soon apparent that Coligny, still weak from his recent illness and at his best but an indifferent swordsman, was no match for his antagonist, who, like his celebrated grandfather, was an adept at all manly exercises. After a few passes, he made a furious

* *La Jeunesse de Madame de Longueville.*

† According to one account, the parties drove to the Place-Royale in coaches, the drivers of which started a quarrel and began belabouring each other with whips, to give the appearance to the combat of an accidental brawl, such as were still very frequent in Paris.

lunge, over-reached himself, and fell on his knee. By the laws of the duel, which made no allowance for accidents of this kind, the duke might have run Coligny through and finished the business at once. But he contented himself by putting his foot on the other's sword and remarking: "I do not intend to kill you, but to treat you as you deserve, for having addressed yourself to a prince of my birth, without your having received provocation." After which, to show his contempt for his discomfited antagonist, he struck him lightly with the flat of his blade.

Burning with rage and shame, Coligny rose, picked up his sword, and resumed the fight. In this second stage of the combat both were wounded, Guise slightly in the shoulder and Coligny in the hand. But the end soon came, and victory, as in greater contests, declared for the House of Guise. The duke contrived to get within his opponent's guard, seized Coligny's sword in his left hand—an action quite permissible at this period, though forbidden in the duels of the following century—and passed his own through his adversary's sword-arm, placing him entirely *hors de combat*. Then he went to separate d'Estrades and Bridieu, who, though both severely wounded, were still fighting with undiminished fury.

This duel—the last important one fought in the Place-Royale—created an immense sensation. Public opinion was almost unanimously in favour of Guise, who, it would appear, had done everything possible to avoid an encounter with a man not only greatly inferior to him in swordsmanship, but weakened by illness, and, according to Madame de Motteville, had even gone so far as to offer to withdraw the imputations upon Madame de Longueville's honour attributed to him. The Queen was much incensed at so flagrant a violation of the edicts against duelling; *Monsieur*, urged on by his wife, was loud in his complaints of the quarrel which had been forced upon her kinsman, and the Prince and Princesse de Condé were highly indignant at the undesirable publicity into which the affair had brought their daughter. It was commonly reported that Madame de Longueville had herself witnessed the encounter of which she was the cause, "concealed at a window in the hôtel of the old Duchesse de Rohan;"* and this story, coupled with a rumour that Coligny had begged Guise, who, after disabling, might have killed him, according to

* Madame de Motteville, *Mémoires*.

the barbarous duelling code of that time, to spare his life, inspired the following *chanson*, which not only went the round of the salons, but was sung in the streets:

Essuyez vos beaux yeux,
Madame de Longueville;
Essuyez vos beaux yeux,
Coligny se porte mieux.
S'il a demandé la vie,
Ne l'en blâmez nullement;
Car c'est pour être votre amant
Qu'il veut vivre éternellement.*

Altogether, poor Coligny received but small consolation for his defeat, and in all probability would have been arrested and incarcerated in the Bastille, but for the protection of the Duc d'Enghien, who, in spite of the remonstrances of *Monsieur le Prince*, received his wounded friend into the house where he was then residing—the Hôtel Saint-Denis—and subsequently had him conveyed to Saint-Maur. Both the principals were summoned to appear before the Parlement; but proceedings were stayed by the news that Coligny's life was despaired of. The unfortunate young man's wounds, not in themselves very serious, had been aggravated by his state of health and his mortification at having so signally failed to uphold the cause of his family and that of the woman he loved; and, after lingering for some months, he died at the end of May, 1644.

A romance of the time, entitled, *Histoire d'Agésilan et d'Isménie*, which, under fictitious names, purports to relate the story of the love of Coligny and Madame de Longueville and its tragic termination, depicts the lady at the death-bed of her admirer, a prey to the last extremity of remorse and grief. After a touching farewell, in which he declares that, since losing her (by her marriage with the Duc de Longueville), he had desired nothing so much as to die in her service, Agésilan expires, whereupon Isménie flings herself upon his body, embraces it, and, seizing his hands in hers, "bathes them with her tears." "'Must I survive the most faithful and sincere lover who has ever lived?' she cries. 'Is this then the recompense that thou oughtest to expect from the ungrateful

* Bibliothèque Nationale MSS., *Collection Maurepas.*

Isménie ? Thou hast loved her alone, and, at the same time as she left thee, thy despair has caused thee to seek death on the battle-field, where thy splendid valour, thy reputation, and thy great deeds have been immortal. And, after that, thou hast just expired before my eyes, and tellest me that thou hast had no happiness since thou hast lost me, and that thou diest content, since thou canst not possess me. . . . Accept, dear and faithful friend, these tears and the eternal regret for thy loss, which will pierce my heart a thousand times a day. Accept this atonement, which I make thee for all my coldness and for all the grief that I have occasioned thee. Ah ! unhappy woman that I am ! What will become of me ? Whither shall I go ? No ; I must die of regret and love. I will leave thee no more ; I intend to remain with thee.' " " And, embracing him, she kissed his eyes and his countenance with transports of affection, calculated to rend every heart."

This pathetic scene seems to have had no existence, save in the imagination of the writer, but the circulation of the book must have been no less galling for Madame de Longueville and her relatives.

CHAPTER VII

MADAME DE LONGUEVILLE AT THE CONGRESS OF MÜNSTER

MADAME DE LONGUEVILLE was now in her twenty-fifth year, in the full flower of her beauty, and at the height of her reputation as a *bel esprit*. No Court function, no social gathering, seemed complete, unless graced by her presence ; no new poet or wit could feel sure of recognition, in the salons at least, until he had been so fortunate as to win her approval. Gradually, but none the less surely, the universal homage of which she was the object began to have its effect, and to awaken an element in her character which, when further developed, was to be followed by deplorable results. She became ambitious, not for herself, but for her House, and, in particular, for her brother, Enghien, and eager to exercise the influence which she saw that she possessed to push his fortunes. Her beauty and charm of manner, which attracted to her every day new admirers, were used un-

sparingly to convert these susceptible gentlemen into devoted friends and partisans of the young duke, and with such success that Mazarin, who already viewed the pretensions of the House of Condé with considerable uneasiness, soon perceived that a new factor in the political situation had arisen, with which he might one day be called upon to reckon very seriously. It is not unlikely that Madame de Longueville, who, in common with the great majority of the French aristocracy, had little love for the Cardinal, and whose youth and independence of character occasionally tempted her into indiscretions, had let fall some not very respectful observations concerning his Eminence, and that these had duly reached the latter's ears. However that may be, in his *Carnets* at this period, he describes the young princess in very hostile terms, laying stress upon her faults, while wholly ignoring her many admirable qualities. Nevertheless, though the portrait is a severe one, it is interesting, if only as an example of that extraordinary foresight which enabled Mazarin to detect possibly dangerous enemies in those who as yet were barely conscious of any hostile intentions :

" The said lady is all-powerful with her brother Enghien. She prides herself on looking down on the Court, detesting favour, and despising all those whom she does not see at her feet. She desires to see her brother controlling everything and disposing of all favours. She well understands how to dissimulate ; she receives every act of homage and every favour as though it were her due. She is generally very cold to every one, and, if she loves gallantry, it is not in the least because she has any evil intention, but in order that she may win followers and friends for her brother. She suggests to him ambitious thoughts, to which he is already sufficiently inclined. She does not take much account of her mother, because she believes her to be attached to the Court. Like her brother, she regards every favour as a debt paid to herself, her relations, and her friends. She believes that they would gladly be refused them, but that one dares not do so, for fear of displeasing them. She is on very intimate terms with the Marquise de Sablé and the Duchesse de Lesdiguières. At Madame de Sablé's house, the Princesse de Guéménée, Enghien, his sister, Nemours, and many others meet constantly, and they speak with great free-

dom about every one. Some one ought to be found to give information of what happens there."

In February, 1644, Madame de Longueville gave birth to a daughter, baptized by the name of Charlotte Louise, who, however, died in the spring of the following year. The body was embalmed and placed in a leaden coffin, after which it was conveyed, with much ceremony, to the Carmelite convent in the Rue Saint-Jacques, and there interred in the cloisters, near the grave of Marie Madeleine de Saint-Joseph. The death of her firstborn was a great sorrow for the princess, but, happily, she soon received consolation, as on January 12, 1646, she bore a son, Jean Louis Charles d'Orléans, Comte de Dunois, who was destined to succeed to his father's titles and offices.

Since 1636, tentative attempts had been made to put an end to the sanguinary struggle which had already been devastating Europe for nearly two decades. In that year, Urban VIII. had endeavoured to act as mediator between the Catholic Powers, and, after much discussion, it had been decided that a congress should meet at Cologne. Thither Cardinal Ginetti had repaired as Legate of the Pope, and Spain and the Empire had despatched Ambassadors. France, however, declined to undertake any negotiations for peace, unless accompanied by her allies, and neither Holland nor Sweden were disposed to accept the Papal mediation, even if it had been offered them. After three years had been wasted in the discussion of the preliminaries, France nominated her plenipotentiaries, and houses were rented for them at Cologne ; but questions of religion and etiquette caused a further postponement, and it was not until the end of the year 1641, that, through the intervention of Christian of Denmark, a preliminary treaty was signed at Hamburg, whereby it was agreed that two congresses should meet, the one at Münster, the other at Osnabrück ; the Catholic Powers carrying on their negotiations at the former place, while the Protestant States conferred at the latter. As these two Westphalian cities were but thirty miles apart, the congresses, though in form separated, would in reality constitute a single body, and the prospective treaties were to be regarded as forming but one. The refusal of the Emperor to ratify the treaty signed by his representative at Hamburg, the death of Louis XIII., and the necessity of France and

Holland coming to a definite understanding to act in concert, occasioned further delay, and the meeting of the Congress of Westphalia, originally fixed for March, 1642, was postponed till May, 1643, then to the following July, and, finally, to March, 1644, when it was formally opened.

When, in 1639, France had consented to nominate plenipotentiaries for the proposed congress, Richelieu's choice had fallen upon Mazarin and the Comte d'Avaux, a member of the powerful parliamentary family of de Mesmes and a skilful diplomatist, who, five years later, was successfully employed in negotiating peace between Sweden and Denmark. As, however, Mazarin's elevation rendered it impossible for him to leave France, he now withdrew in favour of Abel Servien, Comte de la Roche, who, like himself, had been trained in the school of Richelieu, and who possessed, together with considerable abilities, the Cardinal's entire confidence.

But d'Avaux and his colleague did not agree, and their perpetual bickerings, which were soon an open secret at Münster, prevented the efficient discharge of their duties, and caused Mazarin so much uneasiness, that in May, 1644, he determined to despatch a third plenipotentiary to the congress, in the person of the Duc de Longueville, to reconcile d'Avaux and Servien and to assume, nominally at least, control of the negotiations on behalf of France.

Père Bougeant, in his history of the Congress of Westphalia,* supposes that the Cardinal's choice was influenced by a desire "to remove from the Court a prince capable of exciting troubles." But Longueville, at this time, adhered to the policy of *Monsieur le Prince*, that is to say, he gave the Government a consistent, though somewhat patronising, support, and it was at his father-in-law's suggestion that the post was offered him. Mazarin was always anxious to gratify the pride of the Condés when he could do so without prejudice to the interests of the State, and the duke, though he had little diplomatic experience, was, as we have said elsewhere, not destitute of capacity. Moreover, his high rank and great wealth would add lustre to the French embassy and prevent the jealousy which the nomination of a person

* *Histoire des Guerres et Négociations qui précédèrent le Traité de Westphalie.*

of their own condition would be certain to arouse in both d'Avaux and Servien.

But, if Mazarin had no cause to fear the influence of the Duc de Longueville at Court, the same cannot be said for that of his wife; and the readiness with which he appears to have accepted *Monsieur le Prince's* suggestion was undoubtedly due to the fact that it was proposed that Madame de Longueville should accompany her husband. The Cardinal felt that it was infinitely preferable that the lady in question should exercise for a season the power of her charms upon pompous diplomatists at Münster, instead of upon discontented politicians in Paris.

The young princess was not of his opinion, and regarded her prospective sojourn in Westphalia with unconcealed dismay; for the dignity of the position which she was to hold seemed in her eyes but very slight compensation for a lengthy separation from her friends, and the loss of all those pleasures which she had come to look upon as necessities of existence. For her, Paris, the Court, the Hôtel de Condé, the Hôtel de Rambouillet, Chantilly, Fontainebleau, Liancourt, La Barre, constituted the world; the rest of France and of Europe was nothing but an aching void. Would the society of elderly ambassadors and their wives, who spoke in Latin, German, or, at best, in bad French, console her for that of the wits, gallants, poets, and "*précieuses*," among whom her life had been passed, or dull diplomatic receptions in hired houses or draughty public buildings for balls at the Louvre or ballets at the Palais-Cardinal? The disposal of an important Court office was to her of infinitely more importance than that of Alsace, and to unravel the designs of Austria or of Spain a far less interesting task than to penetrate the nature of the relations between the Queen and the Cardinal.

But if not an affectionate, she was a dutiful, wife, and, as her husband had expressed a strong desire that she should accompany him, she consented. Nevertheless, she determined to postpone the evil day as long as possible, and Mazarin complains in his *Carnets* that "Longueville is very reluctant to start without his wife, and the latter is unwilling to leave Paris." Finally, the duke yielded to her entreaties that she should remain in France until after the birth of her child, and at the beginning of June, 1645, set out for Westphalia.

Two months after the departure of the Duc de Longueville, Enghien, who, in the summer of the previous year, had added to the laurels won at Rocroi in three days' sanguinary fighting before Freiburg, gained the Battle of Nördlingen. It was a dearly bought victory, and when its official celebration was ordered, the Parisians bitterly remarked that a *De Profundis* over the dead would be far more appropriate than a *Te Deum* for the living.

The young commander, who had performed prodigies of reckless valour and had had two horses killed under him, was himself wounded, and a severe attack of fever, which supervened, nearly cost him his life. In the autumn, he returned to Paris, in a very weak state of health, when, as a general rule, man is particularly susceptible to feminine blandishments. The astonishment of his friends and the despair of poor Mlle. du Vigean may, therefore, be imagined when it was perceived that he seemed to regard the girl whom he had once loved so passionately with as much indifference " as if he had never heard her voice."

Enghien's ingenuous historian Desormeaux attributes this singular change to the fact that " his love had vanished with the prodigious quantity of blood that had been taken from him," while others ascribe it to the effect of the paternal remonstrances. But the most probable reason, is that, with increasing years and experience of life, common sense had at last asserted itself, and that, in despair of either obtaining the dissolution of his marriage or of overcoming the virtuous scruples of his inamorata, he had decided to abandon himself no longer to a passion which could have no other result than that of troubling his peace of mind.

It is possible, however, that he may have been prompted by a more worthy motive. Finding that his equivocal attentions had somewhat compromised the lady, while, on the other hand, her devotion to himself had caused her to reject the honourable advances of more than one highly eligible suitor, he may have at length awakened to a sense of the selfishness of his conduct, and had determined to yield his place to some one with a better right.

If such were the reason of his withdrawal, his sacrifice was a vain one. Marthe du Vigean, though she uttered no complaint, remained inconsolable. She turned a deaf

ear to the suitors who crowded round her the moment the brusque retirement of Enghien was known, the most ardent of whom was the Marquis de Saint-Mesgrin, brother of the fair lady of that name beloved by Gaston d'Orléans, and resolved to become the bride of the Church. Lest, however, the resolution which she meditated should be deemed by the world the "outcome of grief or of mortification," she did not take any immediate steps to carry it out, and for some time continued to receive the visits of her friends, even of those who had been the witnesses of her passion. But one fine day, in the summer of 1647, she suddenly quitted her father's house and took refuge with the Carmelites of the Rue Saint-Jacques, whither, in past days, the poor little Duchesse d'Enghien had sometimes repaired, on account of her, to appease her jealousy and find resignation. Her relatives made every effort to induce her to return, but all to no purpose.

Marthe du Vigean seems to have been very happy in her new life, and declared that "she would not change her condition to be empress of the whole world."* She made profession in 1649, and took the name of Sœur Marthe de Jésus. She held the office of sub-prioress from 1659 to 1662, and died three years later, at the age of forty-four. Until the end of her life, she remained on very affectionate terms with Madame de Longueville, who visited her frequently and corresponded with her when absent from Paris. The man whom she had loved with so much devotion did not seek to see her again, but always preserved for her "a recollection full of respect."†

Madame de Longueville's child was born on January 12, 1646; but such was the lady's reluctance to set out for Germany, that it was not until five months later that she pronounced herself sufficiently recovered to endure the fatigues of the journey. At length, on June 20, she left Paris, accompanied by her step-daughter, Mlle. de Longueville, who was then in her twenty-first year, and a numerous escort, under the command of Montigny, captain of the duke's guards. In order not to be wholly deprived of intellectual society during what she regarded as little better than exile, she took with her several wits

* Letter of Mère Agnès de Jésus to Mlle. d'Épernon, June, 1647, cited by Victor Cousin, *la Jeunesse de Madame de Longueville.*

† Lenet, *Mémoires.*

and men of letters, amongst whom were Claude Joly, one of the canons of Notre-Dame, uncle of Guy Joly, the author of the *Mémoires*, who has left us an interesting account of the journey ; * Courtin, then counseller to the Parlement of Normandy, and afterwards French Minister in Sweden, and the Academician, Jacques Esprit, already mentioned,† who, having recently incurred the wrath of his patron Chancellor Séguier, for conniving at the marriage of the latter's daughter, the Marquise de Coislin, with Madame de Sablé's son, the Marquis de Laval, had decided that a change of climate might not be without benefit to his health.

The journey resembled a royal progress. Flemings, Dutch, Spaniards, and Germans vied with one another in the honours they paid to the princess. Governors came forth to receive her at the head of their garrisons. Burgomasters offered her the keys of towns. Sometimes she was escorted by troops of cavalry, furnished by the commandants of the various places through which she passed ; at others by bands of farmers and peasants, for the most part armed to the teeth, since those were troublous times, and cattle-raids by the light cavalry of the contending armies were unpleasantly frequent. At Liège, the banks of the Meuse to the distance of a quarter of a league from the town, and the streets leading to the archbishop's palace, where the two princesses lodged, were lined with burghers under arms, who beat drums and discharged their muskets incessantly ; while on the river itself was a flotilla of boats filled with men in various disguises, which engaged in a mimic naval battle. On the evening of their arrival, the authorities entertained their distinguished guests to a sumptuous banquet, "in the fashion of the country," which, according to Joly, meant that the viands were so highly seasoned that it was impossible for any one with a delicate palate to partake of them.

On reaching the banks of the Rhine opposite Wesel, they came upon the army of Turenne, which was preparing to cross the river, to join the Swedes under Wrangel and carry fire and sword to the very gates of Munich.

* *Voyage fait à Münster en Westphalie et autres lieux voisins en* 1646 *et* 1647 (Paris, 1670).

† See p. 43, *supra*.

Turenne reviewed and manœuvred his veterans for the princesses' amusement, and it was on this occasion that the celebrated captain, always very susceptible to feminine charms, seems to have conceived that profound admiration for Madame de Longueville, which was subsequently to develop into a much warmer feeling. On July 19, the party crossed the river, by a bridge of boats, which had just been constructed by Turenne for the passage of his troops, and were met by the Duc de Longueville, who had come to escort his wife and daughter the remainder of the way.* After waiting a day at Wesel, to witness the arrival of the French army, which passed the Rhine the following morning, and to bid adieu to Turenne, they continued their journey, and a week later arrived at Münster, where Madame de Longueville's entry was that of a queen.

"On July 26, between five and six o'clock," writes a correspondent of the *Gazette*, "this princess, richly dressed, made her entry into the town of Münster, in the following fashion: The Comte de Servien's trumpeter and that of the Comte d'Avaux marched at the head of the pages, gentlemen, and equerries of their Households, followed by twenty-four pages of the chamber and stable of the Duc de Longueville, all covered with trimmings of silver lace; and the latter in front of their equerries, and forty gentlemen, all superbly habited, led by the Sieur Désarsaux. Behind them sixteen Swiss, bearing halberds and wearing velvet caps adorned with beautiful plumes, and likewise habited in rich liveries, escorting a litter covered with crimson velvet, embroidered with a great quantity of gold and silver lace. Four other trumpeters richly habited followed, preceding the coach in which rode the Duc and Duchesse de Longueville, with thirty footmen in the richest liveries walking beside the door. Then came the Sieur de Montigny, at the head of the company of very stalwart guards. Six coaches in single file and eight others belonging to the Comtes d'Avaux and de Servien (who rode in the first coach with the Duc and Duchesse de Longueville), each drawn by six horses, brought up the rear of this *cortège*, which passed between the soldiers of the garrison and the burghers under arms as far as the Grande Place, where six companies of infantry fired several volleys, in the presence of the foreign plenipotentiaries

* Claude Joly, *Voyage fait à Münster.*

and other noblemen and ladies of high rank, who admired the beauty of this superb procession.

"During the three succeeding days, this princess was visited by the Dutch and Hessian Ambassadors; then by the Nuncio of his Holiness, the Count of Nassau, one of the plenipotentiaries of the Emperor, the Bishop of Osnabrück, Ambassador in Poland, and the Portuguese and Venetian Ambassadors; each one among this abridgment of the Ministers of Europe manifesting as great an admiration for the graces which shine in this princess and which accompany her every action, as had been shown throughout the whole of her journey; so much so that the enemies have already ascribed to the inclination that the Liégeois had conceived for her during her passage through their State, the proofs which they have recently given of their affection for France. And there is no one who does not predict that the gentleness of her manners, incompatible with the cruelties of war, will be of much service in confirming her beloved husband more and more in the strong resolutions that he has formed in favour of peace, conformable to the pious actions and precise orders of their Majesties."

Life at Münster was extremely dull. Formal visits were occasionally exchanged between the representatives of the various States; but otherwise there was little social intercourse, for no ball or reception could be held without the harmony of the proceedings being disturbed by some acrimonious squabble over precedence, and such functions were in consequence of very rare occurrence. If dull, however, it was extremely ceremonious. The Spanish and Imperialist plenipotentiaries never appeared in the streets unless with three carriages, each drawn by six horses, and preceded by an immense number of footmen; indeed, so anxious were they to eclipse the splendour of the representatives of other Powers, that they even dressed up their scullions in their liveries and compelled them to swell their retinues. The Duc de Longueville and the French Ambassadors contented themselves with a pair of horses when they drove out, deeming six "a useless and superfluous luxury," and, after a time, the Spanish and Imperialists followed their example in this respect. All three French nobles lived in a very magnificent style. When d'Avaux and Servien dined or supped, "ten or twelve

covers were invariably laid for any worthy persons who might come to visit them." But this liberality was a mere trifle compared with the princely profusion which characterized the *ménage* of the Duc de Longueville. "For, since there was no one in the whole Congress of Münster who bore the quality of prince as he did, so there was no one whose Household approached the magnificence of his, where there were guards and Swiss and five or six separate tables, to wit, that at which he himself ate, that of his gentlemen, where all the Frenchmen of condition, of whom there were a good number at Münster, had their ordinary, whenever they wished, that of the council, that of the *maître d'hôtel*, and others."*

Madame de Longueville remained a month at Münster, when her husband, taking compassion upon the ennui which she vainly endeavoured to conceal, suggested that she should employ the rest of the warm weather in making a little tour through Holland. She readily agreed, and, on August 20, left Münster, accompanied by her step-daughter and a numerous entourage, which included the learned Joly, to whom we are indebted for many interesting details of the journey. Travelling by way of Steinfort, Devinter, Amersfoort, and Naarden, the party reached Amsterdam on August 26, where they made a stay of some days. Amsterdam was at this period not only one of the most prosperous, but perhaps the best-ordered city in Europe, and the French visitors were greatly impressed by the contrast in this respect which it afforded to Paris. Whereas Paris was an ill-lighted, evil-smelling town, infested with beggars, and so unsafe after dark, that few dared to venture forth unless armed, and the citizens were in apprehension even in their houses, keeping watch and ward as if in a hostile country, the streets of the Dutch town were well lit and comparatively clean; mendicancy, as everywhere in Holland, was rigorously suppressed, and robbery almost unknown; while the city was remarkable for the number and excellence of its hospitals and almshouses. Madame de Longueville visited several of the public buildings, among them the Bourse, "where every day, at eleven o'clock in the morning, the merchants assembled," and the India House, in the long galleries of which the merchandise of the Dutch East Indies was displayed. The princess and her step-daughter also paid a

* Claude Joly, *Voyage fait à Münster.*

visit to the Jewish Synagogue—by a singular anomaly, while the Jews were allowed complete freedom of worship in Amsterdam, the public exercise of the Catholic religion was strictly prohibited—" where all the assembled Jews chanted, in Hebrew, benedictions on their Highnesses."

From Amsterdam the travellers proceeded to Haarlem, and thence to Leyden, at which latter town they visited the splendid Botanical Gardens, which had been laid out in 1588, the printing-house of the Elzevirs, and the School of Anatomy, " in which, among other curiosities, they saw a mummy, that is to say, the embalmed body of a king of Egypt, swaddled in a very fine stuff, which is wound round it like the swaddling clothes of a child, and on which there was some hieroglyphical writing, which was reported to be more than two thousand years old."

The Hague was reached on September 2, and the following morning the party made an excursion to the now fashionable coast resort of Scheveningen, where Madame de Longueville had her first glimpse of the sea. On her return, she and her step-daughter had an interview with Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, sister of Charles I., with whom were two of her sons, Maurice and Edward, the latter of whom had recently married Anne de Gonzague, the repudiated wife of the Duc de Guise.

On arriving at Utrecht, the princess expressed a great desire to make the acquaintance of the celebrated Maria Anna van Schurman, who, although at this time only thirty-five, was already one of the most learned women in Europe, having mastered, not only Latin and Greek and all the principal European languages, but Hebrew and several other Oriental tongues ; and after some hesitation —for this prodigy of knowledge was of an extremely modest and retiring nature—the latter consented to receive her. Mlle. van Schurman, besides being an extraordinarily learned, was also a very accomplished, lady. She was a sculptor and painter of considerable talent, while she also drew exquisite little portraits on glass with the point of a diamond, several of which she showed to her visitors, who appear to have been greatly interested by all they saw at her house.

At the little town of Rhenen, which was their next halt, a somewhat disagreeable episode occurred. The morrow of their arrival was a festival—that of the Nativity of the Virgin—and Madame de Longueville desired to have Mass

celebrated in her lodging. Hitherto there had been no difficulty about this, as, though the public exercise of the Catholic religion was prohibited in nearly all the Dutch towns, it was permitted in private. But the inhabitants of Rhenen were fanatical Protestants, who refused even this concession to the proscribed religion, and the princess was informed that under no circumstances could such "idolatry" be sanctioned. Madame de Longueville, however, was equal to the occasion. She immediately quitted the town with all her suite, and, having reached the open country, caused a table to be laid out, on which was placed a consecrated stone presented by Joly to her almoner; and on this improvised altar Mass was duly celebrated.

Three days later, the travellers arrived at Münster. Their little tour had proved both instructive and pleasant, the only drawback, according to the worthy Joly, being that Dutch etiquette had not infrequently required them to imbibe a great deal more liquid refreshment than was good for them. "Beer or wine," says he, "the Dutch must drink, and you must drink with them; otherwise they become suspicious of a person, and you will lose their friendship." This custom on certain occasions must have been distinctly embarrassing. At Steinfort, where Joly and Madame de Longueville's almoner had accepted the hospitality of the Protestant minister of the town, their host, "who was of a very jovial humour," after making his guests drink copious draughts of exceedingly strong beer, to his own health, produced several bottles of wine, which he insisted on their emptying, to the health of the princess. It was perhaps as well for the French divines' reputation for sobriety that this incident occurred just before retiring to rest, and that they were thus enabled to sleep off the effects of their involuntary debauch.*

During the whole of that autumn and the following winter, Madame de Longueville was the queen of the Congress of Münster. Her remarkable intelligence appealed to the assembled diplomatists no less than her beauty and grace, and, though often fiercely at variance with one another, they were unanimous in chanting her praises. "You will place me under an obligation," writes d'Avaux to Voiture, with whom he was on very intimate terms, "by advising Mlle. de Rambouillet and

* Claude Joly. *Voyage fait à Münster.*

Madame de Sablé, in confidence, to despatch a courier to Holland to hasten a little Madame de Longueville's return here ; otherwise I swear to you that the Congress will be in consternation. It is the one point on which we are in agreement at Münster. Without exaggeration, it is a fine achievement to have compelled all the nations, so many hostile peoples, and so many different religions to confess the same thing. I would that I could describe to you the Spaniards and Portuguese when they came to the ball and met this princess."

In another letter, the diplomatist draws a pathetic picture of poor Madame de Longueville, " who had quitted the Court for Westphalia and come two hundred leagues to join an old husband," bored to extinction by her surroundings, but never for a moment losing that charming amiability which endeared her to all with whom she came in contact ; pretending to be " ravished " by a Latin comedy which she witnessed at the Jesuit College ; making heroic efforts to carry on a conversation with two German envoys, who were presumably as ignorant of her language as she was of theirs ; enduring the interminable visits of " a fat Dutchman, who kissed her hand regularly twice an hour," and thanking with her gracious smile another ambassador for his brilliant suggestion that she should take lessons in German, " in order to amuse herself."

At the beginning of November of that year, Madame de Longueville received a letter from her mother, informing her that Dunkerque had capitulated to the victorious Enghien, after a siege of barely three weeks (October 11, 1646). This was a truly brilliant achievement. The position of the city, surrounded as it was by vast plains of sand frequently swept by the ocean, rendered its reduction, even under the most favourable circumstances, one of extraordinary difficulty ; while the weather throughout the operations had been terrible ; and nothing but the fiery zeal of their leader could have kept the drenched and famished soldiers to their herculean task. The pirates who had found refuge in the harbour of Dunkerque had long been a scourge to the Northern coast of France, and the fall of their stronghold was hailed with the utmost enthusiasm.*

On receiving the news, Madame de Longueville hastened

* The ravages of the pirates of Dunkerque are said to have cost France several million livres a year.

to inform the French plenipotentiaries of her brother's fresh triumph, and d'Avaux did not fail to write a congratulatory letter to *Madame la Princesse*, felicitating her on being the mother of a son who carried all before him in the field, and of a daughter whom no heart could resist.

D'Avaux to Madame la Princesse.

"Madame,—It is from Madame your daughter that I have learned of the taking of Dunkerque. We were in the cabinet of Monsieur her husband, in conference with the Ambassadors of Holland, when she brought us the welcome news. It was fitting that so splendid a victory should be announced by her mouth. In proportion as we have been rejoiced and delighted, the Spaniards and their allies have been overwhelmed with grief and consternation. In truth, it is a thunderbolt which has hurled them to the ground, without hope of recovering from such a fall. How glorious it is to possess a son, who, by his conduct, has at length avenged us for the imprisonment of François I., and all his ill fortune! They must renounce the sovereignty of that beautiful province of which Monseigneur le Duc d'Enghien now assures us the conquest, by the capture of that famous place. Enjoy, Madame, the praises due to so great a captain, since France owes them to you. But, among the triumphs of the brother, permit me to inform your Highness that he has an incomparable sister, who is esteemed and venerated by the whole Congress here—friends, enemies, and mediators; and it is the one point in regard to which we are in accord at Münster, that *Madame la Princesse* is the happiest and the proudest mother in the world."*

In the first days of the New Year, Madame de Longueville received melancholy tidings from Paris. For some time past, *Monsieur le Prince* had been in failing health, and for the last eighteen months, had been partially paralysed, though his mind remained as clear and as active as ever. At the beginning of December, 1646, he took to his bed, and never left it again, dying at midnight on December 26, in his fifty-seventh year. He made, we are told, a peaceful and Christian end, in the presence of his wife and his two sons, and "parted from

* Letter of November, 1646, *Papiers de Conrart*, published by Victor Cousin.

Madame la Princesse as though he had loved her all his life."* In his will, he left large sums to the poor, "deeming it incumbent upon him to restore the profits of the benefices that he had wrongly enjoyed," and even the humblest of his servants was not forgotten. His body was interred in the parish church of Valery, near those of his father and grandfather; his heart he bequeathed to the Jesuits of the Rue Saint-Antoine, an example which was followed by his descendants.

Morose and bigoted, self-seeking and avaricious, the third Prince de Condé is far from an attractive personality. Nevertheless, his death was a sensible loss both to his family and to France. Selfish and turbulent though his conduct had been during the regency of Marie de' Medici, when once he had decided that his own interests would be better served by loyalty than by opposition to the Crown, he certainly spared no effort to deserve the important offices and immense pensions which were the reward of his fidelity; and the steady support he gave to Anne of Austria and Mazarin since the beginning of the new reign had been of the highest value to the Government. "As sparing of the King's money as of his own," says the Duc d'Aumale, "his ideas on financial matters were sound; he desired that the public debts should be regularly discharged, and opposed extravagance and the constant augmentation of expenses as well as increased taxation. He inspired confidence in serious men of affairs, who never wished to conclude a treaty when he did not assist at the Council. The quack financiers, the d'Emeris and the rest, feared him and rejoiced at his death. They played a fine game after he was gone."†

His authority over his family was absolute. His children, if they did not love him, both feared and respected him, and to the last Enghien, so impatient of all other control, showed towards his father the greatest deference. Had Henri de Bourbon lived a few years longer, his sound common-sense would certainly have saved them from the disasters they brought upon themselves and France; and the Fronde might have been after all merely "a blaze of straw."

Charlotte de Montmorency had the enjoyment for her life of the whole of her deceased husband's property,

* Motteville. † *Histoire des Princes de Condé.*

subject only to an annual charge of 80,000 livres in favour of her eldest son, and 10,000 in favour of the younger. This arrangement was no doubt a just one, seeing that the large fortune which his wife brought him had been the basis of Henri de Bourbon's great wealth. But it, nevertheless, weighed very hardly on his successor, who had received comparatively little with Mlle. de Maillé, and, being as liberal as his father was the reverse, soon found himself seriously embarrassed to maintain his position as first Prince of the Blood, notwithstanding the revenues he derived from his offices and governments.

CHAPTER VIII

MADAME DE LONGUEVILLE AND LA ROCHEFOUCAULD

AT the close of that winter, Madame de Longueville was again enceinte. Her mother wrote, begging her to return to France, and, her husband having given his consent, she left Münster in the last week in March, greatly rejoiced that her exile was at an end. She crossed the Rhine in a yacht which had been placed at her disposal by the Prince of Orange, under the command of a certain Comte de Saint-Ibal, a French gentleman, who, having been compromised in Beaufort's conspiracy, had sought an asylum in Holland, whence he had continued his intrigues against the Cardinal. In 1650, when Madame de Longueville went to Normandy, to endeavour to raise that province against the Government, we shall find this Saint-Ibal again by her side.

At Noyon, the princess was met by her younger brother, Armand de Bourbon, Prince de Conti, who was now in his eighteenth year. In person, he was short and slightly deformed, but these defects were atoned for by a strikingly handsome face and charming manners. Since his infancy, he had been intended for the Church; rich abbeys had been conferred upon him while he was still in his cradle (a custom common enough at this period, in spite of frequent protests from the Vatican), and he had been very carefully educated by the Jesuits at their college of Clermont, where he had Molière, who subsequently owed not a little to his protection, for a fellow-

pupil. Like his sister and elder brother, his abilities were considerable, and he appears to have greatly distinguished himself in his studies, even allowing for the exaggerated terms in which professors in those days were accustomed to speak of the progress of their royal pupils. The late Prince de Condé had, shortly before his death, demanded for his son a cardinal's hat; but, while awaiting admission to the Sacred College, Conti had been given his elder brother's governments of Champagne and Brie, which had been resigned by the new Prince de Condé on succeeding his father in those of Bourgogne, Bresse, and Berry. He was as yet, however, considered too young to undertake the duties of these important offices, and continued to reside in Paris, where he led a life which was by turns that of an ecclesiastic and a man of pleasure.

The young prince, who had hitherto seen but little of his celebrated sister, dazzled by her beauty and charm, appears from that moment to have conceived for her a passionate devotion—"*plutôt en qualité d'honnête homme que comme frère*," according to the delicate euphemism of Madame de Motteville—which led him to follow her blindly into all her adventures, and for several years she exercised over him the most absolute empire. Then they quarrelled, but her influence reasserted itself in later years—this time, fortunately, for good—and continued unabated until Conti's death, in 1666.

Madame de Longueville did not proceed at once to Paris, but stopped for several days at Chantilly, with her mother and the young Princesse de Condé, to recover from the fatigues of her journey. Then the three ladies set out for the capital, where Mazarin gave in Madame de Longueville's honour, at the Palais-Royal, a special representation of an opera called *Orphée*, by an Italian troupe of singers, which he had imported at great expense from Italy. This piece, the production of which is said to have cost no less than 400,000 livres, contained six acts and thirty-one scenes, and lasted six hours. The opera was accompanied by decorations and changes in the scenery such as had never been seen before in France, and both the singing and dancing were excellent; but, owing to its great length, and the fact that few of the courtiers understood Italian, it seems to have been considered a somewhat wearisome form of entertainment. Nevertheless,

it was played three times a week for two months; and so anxious was Anne of Austria to please Mazarin, who had now completely won her heart, and to show an interest in the amusements he devised, that she did not miss a single representation.*

Madame de Longueville returned to find Paris steeped in gaieties. Mazarin gave the most magnificent entertainments, and, spurred to emulation by the Cardinal's profusion, the great nobles had begun to entertain on a scale hitherto unknown, and elegance and luxury reigned everywhere. After nine months spent among the dull and pompous diplomatists of Münster, it is easy to imagine the delight which the princess experienced on finding herself once more in her beloved Paris, and she plunged into the whirl of pleasure with all the zest begotten of her long absence. The prestige of the House of Condé, so enormously increased by the brilliant victories of its new head, and the deep affection which was known to exist between *Monsieur le Prince* and his beautiful sister, caused her advent to be hailed on all sides as a public event. Her friends and admirers crowded round her, vying with one another in their expressions of devotion and their efforts to please her; never had her popularity and her influence been greater. "This princess," writes Madame de Motteville, "who, even when absent, reigned over her family, and whose approval was desired by every one as a sovereign blessing, could not fail on her return to Paris, to appear there with even greater *éclat* than before her departure. The affection which *Monsieur le Prince*, her brother, entertained for her authorised her actions and her ways; and the greatness of her beauty enhanced the influence of her family to such an extent, that she had not been long at Court, before she occupied its almost undivided attention. She became the object of universal desire; her *ruelle*, the centre of every intrigue, and those upon whom she bestowed her affection became immediately the favourites of Fortune. Her intelligence, her wit, and the opinion that was entertained of her discernment, made her the admired of all men of culture, who were persuaded that her esteem alone sufficed to ensure their reputation. . . . In fact, it may be said that at this time all greatness, glory and gallantry were centred in that

* Olivier d'Ormesson, *Journal*. Bourgoing de Villefore, *la Véritable Vie d'Anne-Geneviève de Bourbon, Duchesse de Longueville.*

family of Bourbon, of which *Monsieur le Prince* was the head, and that happiness was no longer esteemed a blessing, unless it came from their hands."

It was a dazzling position for a young woman to occupy; but it was also one full of peril. Hitherto, Madame de Longueville had been content with that "noble and gracious gallantry" which was in vogue at the Hôtel de Rambouillet, and celebrated by Corneille in his plays and by Voiture in his *vers de société*, and had permitted herself to be adored, without giving in return anything but her friendship. But the incense which was so profusely burned at her shrine was beginning to intoxicate her; her devoted friend, Marthe du Vigean, was no longer by her side to sustain her in her virtuous resolutions; her brother, Condé, had long since abandoned platonic *liaisons* for connections of a much less desirable kind; * her father, of whom, like the rest of the family, she had stood in considerable awe, was dead; her mother's influence over her had of late years greatly diminished; her husband was far away. Finally, the time had come for her, as it must come for every woman, when she felt the necessity of loving as well as of being loved, of the need of some object upon which to lavish that wealth of affection which she knew that it was in her nature to bestow.

It was now that there entered into Anne de Bourbon's life the man who was to captivate her heart and mind so completely, that, from the moment she surrendered herself to his influence, she ceased to have any interest or any ambition that was not his, and who was to become her evil genius.

François de la Rochefoucauld, Prince de Marsillac, better known by his later title of Duc de la Rochefoucauld —by which it will perhaps be more convenient to speak of him throughout these pages—is not only one of the most celebrated among French moralists, but one of the most characteristic figures of the old aristocracy, at a decisive moment in its history. Born in Paris, in the Rue des Petits-Champs, on September 15, 1613, he was

* Since his rupture with Mlle. du Vigean, the young prince had been leading so dissipated a life, that his father wrote to him, a few months before his death, as follows: "My son, God bless you. Cure yourself, or it is better for you to poniard yourself than lead the life that you are doing: I pray God to console me. I write to you in despair, and am, Monsieur, your good father and friend. . . ."—Letter of August 18, 1646, *Archives de Condé*, cited by MM. Homberg and Jousselin, *la Femme du Grand Condé*.

at this time about thirty-four years of age.* His family was one of the most ancient and the most noble in France, counting twenty-one descents in the direct male line from Foucauld, Seigneur de la Roche, in Angoumois, who flourished early in the eleventh century; and possessed immense estates in the above-mentioned province and Poitou. Its military annals were glorious, and it ranked with the Guises and the Montmorencies immediately after the Princes of the Blood. "I am able to prove," wrote La Rochefoucauld to Mazarin, in 1648, "that for three hundred years kings have not disdained to treat us as relatives."

His education was the superficial one of a young nobleman intended for a military career, and at the age of sixteen he entered the army. In the previous year, he had espoused Andrée de Vivonne, daughter of the Grand Falconer of France, and a considerable heiress. Little is known of this lady, who seems to have been of a very modest and retiring disposition, the exact antithesis in fact of the haughty Amazons and the beautiful "*précieuses*," who played so great and important a part in the life of her lord and master. She, however, presented him with eight children; large families seem to have been the rule with the La Rochefoucaulds—her husband himself was the eldest of fourteen.

As a soldier, La Rochefoucauld displayed the utmost bravery, though he was never credited with much military skill. At Court, however, he early became a conspicuous figure. "Animated by infinite pride of race," says M. Bourdeau, "La Rochefoucauld had ambitions without any precise object. To a keen and observant intellect, under an air of diffidence which never left him, he united a romantic imagination and an irresistible taste for feminine society."†

One of the ladies with whom he was most intimate was Mlle. de Hautefort, the platonic mistress of Louis XIII., and, through her, he was admitted to the confidence

* M. Bourdeau, La Rochefoucauld's latest biographer, and several other writers, are of opinion that the *liaison* with Madame de Longueville began previous to the lady's departure for the Congress of Westphalia, and that to this circumstance may be, in great part, ascribed her reluctance to leave Paris and her anxiety to return to France. But Madame de Motteville places it at the close of the year 1647, and there is no reason to question her accuracy, though no doubt La Rochefoucauld had paid the lady considerable attention earlier than this.

† *La Rochefoucauld* (Paris, 1895).

of Anne of Austria. La Rochefoucauld's father, who owed his dukedom to the favour of Marie de' Medici, and had remained faithful to her after her breach with Richelieu, had ranged himself among the enemies of the Cardinal and encouraged his son to follow his example; and the romantic youth thought he could not do better than become the cavalier of an unhappy Queen, persecuted and suspected of the most treasonable designs. "The least reasons," he writes, "would have sufficed to beguile a young man who had scarcely seen anything of the world, and to draw him into a path so contrary to his fortune. This conduct speedily brought upon me the aversion of the King and the Cardinal, and inaugurated the long series of disgraces which have troubled my life."*

As a matter of fact, on his return to Paris, after the campaign of 1635, on the pretext that he had expressed himself with too much freedom concerning the conduct of his superior officers, he received orders to retire to his father's estates, and did not return to Court for two years.

This exile was the cause of his more or less intimate connection with the Duchesse de Chevreuse, the first of the three celebrated women who influenced his life. The duchess had been exiled by Richelieu to Touraine, and it was here that La Rochefoucauld met her; to his misfortune, it is needless to say, for the lady was as dangerous to her lovers as to her enemies. Hamelot de la Houssaye compares her to Sejanus's horse, all of whose masters came to a bad end.† This indefatigable intriguer was then conducting a secret correspondence between Anne of Austria, Charles IV. of Lorraine, the Queen of England, and the King of Spain; and her new admirer found himself entrusted with the expediting of several of these highly compromising epistles. Richelieu's spies, however, ever on the alert, were not long in acquainting the Cardinal with what was going on; and Anne, accused of communicating with the enemies of France, treated as a criminal of State, and believing herself on the eve of being both repudiated and imprisoned, proposed to La Rochefoucauld to carry off both herself and Mlle. de Hautefort and to conduct them to Brussels. "I was young," he writes, "and at an age when one loves to do extraordinary and brilliant things, and I could not conceive anything

* *Mémoires.* † M. Bourdeau, *La Rochefoucauld.*

more so than at the same time to carry off the Queen from the King, her husband, and from the Cardinal de Richelieu, who was jealous of her, and to take away Mlle. de Hautefort from the King, who was in love with her."*

Nothing came of this romantic scheme, which is so strange that one finds some difficulty in crediting it, even on the word of La Rochefoucauld; and the Queen duly made submission to her husband and Richelieu. But the young man did not fail to get himself speedily into fresh trouble, through assisting in the escape of Madame de Chevreuse, who, learning that she was on the point of being arrested, disguised herself as a man and fled to Spain. Her admirer was sent to the Bastille, where he found himself in most distinguished company: but, thanks to the intercession of his father, who, tired of being in disgrace, had lately made his peace with the Cardinal and obtained the government of Poitou, he found himself at liberty after a week's detention. He was, however, again exiled to the family estates; nor did he return to Court until after the death of Richelieu.

In 1639, he obtained permission to rejoin the French army in the Netherlands, and showed such brilliant courage at Saint-Venant, where he and a handful of gentlemen volunteers, posted on a dyke, repulsed an overwhelming number of the enemy, that he was offered the rank of *maréchal de camp*, as an earnest, it was hinted, of much more important posts. At the request of the Queen, who was unwilling for her champion to accept any favour from Richelieu, he declined the honour, and at the conclusion of the campaign he returned to Poitou. Here he received proposals from Cinq-Mars to join him in that abortive conspiracy which was to cost that "amiable criminal," as Madame de Motteville calls him, his head; but, fortunately for himself, he had the good sense to refuse.

In 1642, Richelieu died, and, a few months later, Louis XIII. followed him to the grave; and with their lives the chivalrous youth of La Rochefoucauld terminated also. Of the disinterested, romantic, imprudent young man, who had braved the wrath of the terrible Cardinal and despised his favours, we henceforth catch but an occasional glimpse. He has become transformed into the greedy, scheming intriguer, ever seeking to further his own

* La Rochefoucauld, *Mémoires*.

petty ambitions with a cynical disregard for the interests of others.

With Anne of Austria Regent, those who had remained loyal to her in adversity naturally looked forward to receive the reward of their devotion, and none more confidently than La Rochefoucauld, " whom for ten years the Queen had looked upon as her special servant, and who for six or seven had been publicly spoken of as her martyr."*

He was woefully disillusioned. Anne was prodigal of promises, assuring him there was nothing in the realm great enough to recompense him for the sacrifices he had made for her sake ; but there her gratitude ended. For this, however, La Rochefoucauld was himself in great part to blame. He began by inducing the Queen to recall Madame de Chevreuse, whom Louis XIII., on his death-bed, had condemned to a perpetual exile, believing that her influence, joined to his own claims upon Anne, would be sufficient to procure any favour he might care to demand. But Madame de Chevreuse was not nearly so necessary a friend to the Regent as she had been to the persecuted Queen, nor did her Majesty by any means share her sentiments towards Mazarin. The duchess demanded that the government of Havre, then held by Madame d'Aiguillon in trust for her nephew, the young Duc de Richelieu, should be bestowed upon La Rochefoucauld ; but Mazarin, always firm in his defence of the family of his benefactor, protested against such an act of spoliation, which, he pointed out to the Queen, was certain to be resented by the Condés, allied by marriage with the family of the late Cardinal ; and the request was refused. A similar disappointment awaited La Rochefoucauld in regard to more than one important office which he coveted ; but still the Regent gave him fair words, and his expectation of one day receiving some great favour at her hands kept him faithful to her person, if hostile to her Government, though the support he gave to the " Importants " was of too lukewarm a character to involve him in their disgrace. He passed thus two years " *dans un état bien ennuyeux*," and then, wearying of the Court, demanded the command of the light cavalry rendered vacant by the death of Maréchal de Gassion. But this, too, was refused him—very properly, it must be

* La Rochefoucauld, *Mémoires.*

admitted, since, as we have already said, though brave enough, he had very little military capacity—and, realising that all his hopes were vain, he passed into active opposition to the Court, and determined to obtain through intimidation what his fidelity had not been able to secure.

He was in this condition of mind when Madame de Longueville returned to Paris, to become, thanks to the victories of her brother, an even greater object of adoration than she had been before her departure for Westphalia. La Rochefoucauld was quick to foresee how greatly his designs might be facilitated could he but win the affection of the princess, and, through her, the support of Condé; and, undeterred by the ill-success which had attended all previous aspirants to the lady's favour, he addressed himself to the task of overcoming her resistance with an adroitness and determination worthy of a better cause. Nothing in the writings of the great satirist is more cynical than his account of the beginning of this intrigue.

"So much that was useless and so many disappointments," he writes, "inspired me at length with other thoughts, and induced me to seek perilous ways to show my resentment towards the Queen and the Cardinal Mazarin. The beauty of Madame de Longueville, her intelligence, and all the charms of her person, attached to her all those who could entertain any hope of her toleration. Many men and women of quality endeavoured to please her: and, apart from the attractions of this kind of court, Madame de Longueville was at that time so perfectly in accord with all her House and so tenderly beloved by her brother, the Duc d'Enghien, that he who was approved by his sister could reckon on the esteem and friendship of that prince. Many persons vainly attempted this road to success, and mingled with it other sentiments than those of ambition. Miossens, who has since become *maréchal de France*,* persisted the longest, and met with a like success. I was one of his particular friends, and he kept me informed of his designs. They speedily destroyed themselves. This he realised, and told me he was resolved to renounce them. But vanity, which was his strongest passion, often prevented him telling me the truth, and he feigned hopes which he did not cherish, and which I knew

* Under the title of Maréchal d'Albret.

that he could not have. In this manner some time passed, and at length I had reason to believe that I might make a better use than Miossens of the friendship and confidence of Madame de Longueville. I made him acknowledge this himself. He was aware how I was situated at Court. I explained my views to him, but added that consideration for him would always restrain me, and that I would never attempt to establish intimate relations with Madame de Longueville, unless he left me at liberty to do so. I confess that I purposely embittered him against her, in order to secure her for myself, without, however, telling him anything that was untrue. He surrendered her to me entirely, but he repented of having given her up when he witnessed the result of this *liaison*. He attempted to thwart it soon afterwards, by making a great disturbance and scandal, which did not have the least effect upon my intentions."

La Rochefoucauld possessed many qualities well calculated to please such a woman as Madame de Longueville. He was handsome, witty and accomplished; his manners were perfect, and his loyalty towards the Queen had invested him with a halo of chivalry which could not but appeal to one reared in the atmosphere of the Hôtel de Rambouillet. He was, moreover, a past-master in the art of love-making, and it would have needed one far more experienced in the ways of gallantry than this romantically-inclined young woman to have realised how little sincerity there was in those eloquent professions of devotion, and how completely the lover was subordinated to the intriguer in the man who knelt at her feet.

La Rochefoucauld gained her heart, and with her heart her mind, which he proceeded to mould according to the fashion best calculated to serve his own ends. With infinite art, he set himself to develop that latent energy of character which only love was capable of calling forth. "Little by little he displayed before her eyes a new object, which she had not yet perceived—an important part upon the stage of events which were preparing. He diverted her instincts of pride and independence into different channels; he transformed her natural coquetry into political ambition, or rather, he inspired her with his own ambition."*

And Madame de Longueville, having once given her

* Victor Cousin, *la Jeunesse de Madame de Longueville.*

heart to this man, gave herself entirely ; sacrificing to him, without thought of the consequence, not only her own reputation, hitherto so dear to her, but all her private interests, the interests of her House, and what until now had been the strongest sentiment of her life : her tender affection for her brother Condé. "In all she has done since," writes Madame de Motteville, "one could plainly see that it was not ambition alone that filled her soul, but that the interests of the Prince de Marsillac occupied there a great place. For him, she became ambitious ; for him, she ceased to love repose, and, absorbed by her affection, she forgot her good name."*

In the meanwhile, the end of the long negotiations in Westphalia was approaching, aided materially by the success of the French and their allies in the field. The early part of the year 1648 was by no means favourable to the French. Holland, which had for some months past been practically neutral, concluded a separate peace with Spain, and this diplomatic victory seemed to endow the Spaniards with fresh energy. They captured Courtrai, repulsed an expedition sent against Ostend, and contemplated an invasion of Picardy.

But soon the tide turned. Turenne and the Swedish general, Wrangel, carried fire and sword into Bavaria, and forced the treacherous old duke to fly from Munich. A Swedish army under Königsmark invaded Bohemia, captured and sacked Little Prague, and laid siege to the old town. And finally, on August 20, Condé, whose triumphant career had suffered a somewhat severe check the previous year before the walls of Lerida, gained a complete victory over the Spaniards at Lens.

Of all Condé's victories, that of Lens is perhaps the most brilliant, gained as it was, with a comparative trifling loss, over an enemy much superior in numbers, whom, by a feigned retreat, he had succeeded in drawing from an almost unassailable position into a battle on level ground. Its results were of the highest importance. At home, it strengthened the hands of the Government and encouraged the Regent and Mazarin to adopt a more vigorous policy in their struggle with the Parlement, of which we shall presently speak. Abroad, it convinced the Emperor and Maximilian of Bavaria that, even without the assistance of

* *Mémoires.*

Holland, France was more than a match for Spain, and hastened the conclusion of the Treaty of Westphalia, which, on October 24, 1648, terminated thirty years of war and twelve of negotiations. France received Alsace, both upper and lower, thus extending her frontier to the coveted line of the Rhine, together with Brissac and Landau, and the right of garrisoning the fortress of Philippsburg. Her full and complete sovereignty over the three bishoprics of Metz, Toul and Verdun, which for nearly a century had been hers by right of conquest, was formally recognised, and she also obtained Pignerol, "the gate of Italy."

Left, by the conclusion of peace with the Emperor, with Spain alone to face, Mazarin had every reason to hope that a great future awaited France, and that, as the result of two or three successful campaigns, he would be able to secure for her the same advantages in the North-East and South-West as he had already secured in the East. That his hopes were only very partially realised, and that not until after more than ten years of further warfare, was due to that miserable internecine strife which, under the name of the Fronde, checked the victorious career of Condé at the age of twenty-seven, plunged France into a welter of anarchy, and sapped the very vitals of the nation.

For this disaster, the House of Condé, thanks to the pernicious influence exercised by La Rochefoucauld over Madame de Longueville, was in a large measure responsible.

CHAPTER IX

THE COURT AND THE PARLEMENT

"IT is a miracle that affairs can proceed with the obstacles we make ourselves. Credit is gone, our resources destroyed, the public purse closed. You must see the necessity we have for peace at once, and, if the things that are important and essential are established, we must not in future be so particular. It is not the enemy that occasions my apprehensions, but the French themselves. . . . The exterior seems fair, but the interior is corrupted, and we shall do ourselves the harm that the enemy has not accomplished."*

* Published by Mr. J. B. Perkins, "France under Mazarin."

Thus wrote Mazarin to Servien in the summer of 1647, and he did not in the least exaggerate the critical condition of affairs. The enormous expenses of the long war had reduced the Government to the most desperate straits; the whole of the revenues of 1648 and 1649 and part of those of 1650 had been anticipated, and the Comptroller-General, d'Emeri, was even endeavouring to alienate those of the two following years; all kinds of expedients had been resorted to for raising money, the irritation aroused by which had been out of all proportion to the benefits accruing to the Treasury; and the Parlement of Paris, backed by popular feeling and secretly encouraged by the Cardinal's enemies at Court, was preparing for an open struggle with the Government.

The Parlement of Paris, it is scarcely necessary to explain, was the Supreme Court of Justice and in no sense a legislative body: but it possessed the privilege of remonstrating against the royal edicts which it was called upon to register, and at various stages in its history it strove to extend this right of remonstrance into one of veto. During the century preceding the accession of Louis XIV., its importance as a political factor had varied according to the strength or weakness of the Government. Thus, during the turbulent reign of the last Valois and the early years of that of Henri IV., it had played a very prominent part, and the support it had accorded the Guises had been one of the chief causes of the strength of the League in Paris and the prolongation of the civil wars. After the pacification of the realm, Henri IV. applied himself to confining the Parlement as closely as possible to its judicial functions, its true sphere of usefulness, and, though the magistrates protested in the strongest terms against the Edict of Nantes in 1598, and again against the edict recalling the Jesuits five years later, they were compelled to give way. "I will be obeyed," said the King, on the first occasion. "It is true that the judges are my right arm; but, if the right arm is gangrened and corrupt, the left must hew it off."

The political influence of the Parlement, which had sunk to a very low ebb under Henri IV., revived during the troubles and civil wars which marked the regency of Marie de' Medici. But, when a little later Richelieu resumed the work of Henri, "its nails were cut close." The Cardinal was resolved to render the magistracy as

submissive to his will as were all other departments of the State. Not content with ignoring its remonstrances and bringing down the King to the Palais de Justice to compel the registration of his edicts, he frequently caused its decrees to be quashed by the Council, imprisoned and exiled those of its members who were most prominent in opposing him, abolished their offices and created new ones, and appointed special and irregular courts for the trial of important cases. Finally, in 1641, the judges were compelled, in a Bed of Justice, to register letters-patent of the King, which strictly forbade them to interfere in matters of State, which his Majesty reserved for his own direction, limited their remonstrances to fiscal edicts, and directed them to confine their energies to the administration of justice.

These drastic measures, which answered their purpose well enough so long as Richelieu remained at the head of affairs, embittered the Parlement against the Crown, and sowed the seeds of much future trouble, which was certain to arise whenever the reins of Government passed into less capable hands. The moment arrived with the death of Louis XIII. The prospect of a long minority, and a regency administered by a woman and controlled by a foreigner, emboldened the Parlement to put forth strenuous efforts to extend its authority. Although it represented no one but its own order, it was the only institution which Richelieu had left between the Crown and the people, and, being near enough to the latter to be accessible to their complaints, possessed their respect and confidence. Its hope, therefore, that it might eventually take the place of the abandoned States-General was not so unreasonable as might at first sight appear.

The Parlement of Paris was composed at this time of about two hundred members, and was divided into several branches: the Grande Chambre, in which, on special occasions, the peers sat with the magistrates, and which decided the most important questions; the Cour des Enquêtes, the Cour des Requêtes, and the Tournelle, chiefly a court of criminal jurisdiction. There were also three other courts—the Cour des Comptes, the Cour des Aides, and the Grand Conseil—chiefly occupied with questions of finance and administration. These were separate from the Parlement; but, inasmuch as their members belonged to the same social class as the latter,

and were connected with it by ties of blood and marriage their interests were to all intents and purposes identical.

Judicial offices in France were not, as in England, and other countries, in the gift of the Crown. They were the property of their holders, and could be sold or bequeathed as they thought fit. Up to 1604, the office of a member of the Parlement could not be alienated or bequeathed without the permission of the King; but in that year Henri IV., being in need of money, one of his secretaries, Paulet by name, counselled him to raise the necessary funds, by exacting from each of the magistrates who wished to enjoy the right of devising his office an annual duty amounting to one-sixtieth of the estimated value of his charge. The effect of this tax—called, from the name of its inventor, the *paulette*—was to make of the magistracy an hereditary caste, and to enormously increase its dignity and importance.*

The financial straits of the Crown immensely strengthened the hands of the magistracy. At his wits' end for money to carry on the war, Mazarin had been driven to all kinds of vexatious expedients for raising money. The Parlement remonstrated vigorously, and, in September, 1644, the Government was compelled to have recourse to the extreme measure of a Bed of Justice, in order to secure the registration of the edicts. Two and a half years had passed since the last one had been held, when the Parlement had been called upon to annul the late King's will, and make Anne of Austria "Regent without conditions." Mazarin had, on that occasion, warned the Queen against granting an authority to the Parlement which would certainly be used against her, and the sequel fully justified his apprehensions.

The edicts were duly registered, but not before the First President, Mathieu Molé, the l'Hôpital of the seventeenth century, in the name of the assembly, had expressed his profound regret that the power of the sovereign should be used in this manner to diminish the authority of justice. But the execution of the more unpopular edicts provoked widespread discontent, and the influence of Molé with difficulty prevented the Parlement from demanding their revocation.

* The *paulette* had been abolished in 1615, but restored in 1620. It was renewable every nine years.]

The struggle was renewed in the autumn of 1646 over a decree of the Council imposing a tax on all articles of consumption entering Paris, and, at the beginning of the year 1648, a proposal of the Government to levy a tax on certain lands hitherto subject to an annual duty led to riots in the capital. There could be no doubt that the insurrectionary movements in Portugal and Naples, and the triumph of the parliamentary party in England were having their effect on the popular imagination, and that the situation was becoming critical. But still the Government, spurred on by its necessities, continued on its dangerous course, and on January 15 another Bed of Justice was held, and further oppressive edicts were presented for registration, and persisted in, notwithstanding an exceedingly outspoken speech by the Advocate-General, Omer Talon, "which caused the Cardinal to turn pale and the Queen to blush with shame."

In the meanwhile the term for which the *paulette* had been granted had expired, and in April the Government, on the plea of the appreciation in the value of judicial offices, announced that the old assessment of the tax would only be retained on condition that the holders should forfeit four years' wages. In order to ensure the acceptance of the edict, the members of the Parlement were exempted from the new duty, which was only to apply to those of the Grand Conseil, the Chambre des Comptes, and the Cour des Aides. But this ignoble attempt to bribe part of a profession to consent to additional taxation being imposed on the remainder failed, as it deserved. The Cour des Aides and the Chambre des Comptes agreed to unite "for the reform of the State;" they were joined by the Grand Conseil, and the Parlement, in spite of its exemption, associated itself with them. On May 13, a resolution was almost unanimously passed for a union of the representatives of all four companies in the Chambre de Saint-Louis, to deliberate on their own grievances and State abuses.

The reply of the Government was to abolish the *paulette*, thus depriving the magistracy of its chief security, but this only further increased the irritation of the judges, and the Decree of Union remained unrepealed. The Regent caused several members of the Grand Conseil and the Cour des Aides to be arrested, a measure which caused the utmost indignation both in the courts and in

the city, and on June 10 the Council of State issued* an ordinance annulling the Decree of Union (June 10). The magistrates, encouraged by their increasing popularity, responded by voting the assembling of the four Courts without further delay, and, though the Queen summoned the members of the Parlement to the Palais-Royal and threatened them with exemplary punishment, they declined to be browbeaten.

The Court found itself in a humiliating position, for it dared not at that moment risk an open conflict with the magistracy, backed as the latter were by the sympathies of the populace. Courtrai had been retaken by the Spaniards, and they were again threatening to invade Picardy; the provinces, excited by the disturbances in Paris, were seething with discontent, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that taxes could be collected; and Beaufort had just succeeded in effecting his escape from Vincennes, and, it was feared, might put himself at the head of the mob, whose idol he was.

And so to reprimands and menaces succeeded bland speeches and conciliatory offers. But they came too late; the judges refused the Government's offer to renew the *paulette* without any new conditions, and persisted in their resolve to reform the abuses of the administration. Finally, on June 29, the Regent yielded, and authorised the sovereign companies to execute the Decree of Union, begging them only to conclude their session within a week, and to remember that the army of his Majesty was face to face with the enemy, and that military operations could not be carried on without money.

The judges lost not a moment in availing themselves of the Regent's concession. On the following morning, delegates from the four companies, to the number of thirty-two, met in the Chambre de Saint-Louis: fourteen from the Parlement and six representatives of each of the other Courts.

Their session may be regarded as the beginning of the Fronde.

As Victor Cousin and Chéruel both point out, there can be no question that Mazarin, in 1648, greatly underrated

* This was an undoubted encroachment upon the privileges of the Parlement, whose right to deliberate with other judicial bodies upon matters of importance to all had never before been questioned.

the gravity of the parliamentary opposition. Equal, if not superior, to Richelieu as a diplomatist, he had not in the smallest degree the genius of his master for internal administration. Wholly occupied with his great military and diplomatic schemes, he attended to little else, and suffered abuses and disorder to creep in everywhere. To him, the enmity between the magistracy and the Government was important, chiefly because it prejudiced his plans for extending the frontier of France. "The Parlement will succeed in ruining credit and making it impossible to supply the army. Without striking a blow, the enemy will regain what so many victorious years have gained for us."* He did not as yet realise that this movement—which, in all probability, a vigorous policy of repression might have smothered at its inception—gathering strength from the half-hearted efforts that were made to stem it, was developing into one which threatened not only the glory of France abroad, but the authority of the Crown at home. He did not perceive that behind the magistrates were his eternal enemies the "Importants," whom he had checkmated, but not destroyed in 1643, and who only waited a favourable occasion to renew their intrigues for his overthrow and their own aggrandisement, at the expense of the tranquillity and honour of their country.

If the Regent and Mazarin, in the face of the hostility of the Parlement and the populace, could have depended on the support of the princes and the nobility, the position of affairs, though embarrassing enough, would have been far less critical. But the Court itself was divided; the "Importants" of 1643 were about to reappear as the Frondeurs of 1648, "ready to assume all disguises, to speak all languages, to rely, in turn, upon the Parlement and upon the populace, and to invoke, if necessity arose, the gold and the sword of the foreigner."†

As soon as La Rochefoucauld had gained the heart of Madame de Longueville, he dominated her entirely. All those charms of mind and person which had hitherto been employed in acquiring friends and partisans for her brother Condé, were now placed at the disposal of her lover. "Careless of her interests and turning her back upon the fortune of her House, she attacked openly or undermined by stratagem that royalty which her family had supported, and which had been still more the support of her

* *Carnet IX.* † Victor Cousin, *la Jeunesse de Madame de Longueville.*

family. Forgetful of her most just resentment, even of her honour, she entered the ranks of those who, in 1643, had endeavoured to blast in the bud her fresh and unsullied reputation. The daughter of the Condés went over to the Vendômes and the Lorraines, made common cause with Beaufort and with Madame de Chevreuse, and exposed herself to the risk of encountering in this new circle her old and implacable enemy, Madame de Montbazon. If Guise had not been at Naples, she would doubtless have testified how completely she had changed by clasping the hand that had slain Coligny."*

La Rochefoucauld's reason for so ardently desiring the conquest of Madame de Longueville had been, as we have shown, his hope of reaching the brother through the sister, and drawing into the ranks of the opposition the House of Condé, which had hitherto been the chief rampart of the Government; and he did not fail to impress upon his mistress the importance of leaving no means untried to secure for him the adhesion of her family.

With her mother, she failed. Charlotte de Montmorency, if she had no liking for Mazarin, was a personal friend of the Queen, and, moreover, detested the Vendômes and all the "Importants" far too heartily to have any intimate relations with them. But the political influence of *Madame la Princesse* was very slight, and the failure to gain her support troubled La Rochefoucauld but little.

On the other hand, Madame de Longueville experienced no difficulty in winning over the Prince de Conti, who was as completely under her influence as she herself was under that of La Rochefoucauld, and who listened readily enough to the hopes which she held out to him that while waiting for his cardinal's hat, he might acquire in the political arena an importance which would compare not altogether unfavourably with that which his elder brother had gained in the command of armies.

Nor was a great amount of persuasion required to secure the support of her husband, who had, or fancied that he had, cause for complaint against the Government. At Münster, the Duc de Longueville had made a highly ornamental Ambassador, but in other respects he had not been altogether a success, and was certainly no match for the Spanish plenipotentiary Pegnaranda, "a crafty and

* Ibid.

malignant spirit, who covered with apparent sincerity continual dissimulation and trickery."* Mazarin, early apprised of this, had thought it prudent to confine the duke as closely as possible to a nominal rôle; and the latter, taking umbrage, had demanded his recall, which he had no difficulty in obtaining. In August, 1648, he returned to France, very much irritated against Mazarin, and hardly concealing his belief that the Cardinal did not desire that peace should be made.

Mazarin endeavoured to soothe his wounded feelings, by persuading the Regent to give him a seat in the Council, an honour which had never yet been accorded to any, save Ministers of State or Princes of the Blood. This distinction, however, was far from contenting Longueville, who desired to be declared a Prince of the Blood, in order to efface the illegitimacy which, according to him, dishonoured the descendants of Dunois. "M. de Longueville," writes Mazarin, "perpetually anxious and disquieted about the Principality of the Blood, has set Tracy to discover if he may hope to enter the Queen's coach and occupy a seat therein, like the Princes of the Blood, so soon as we shall chant the *Te Deum* for the capture of Tortosa. He has been told that he ought not to expect this, and that the Queen could not accord him any favour of that kind without deciding to do as much for the other princes. It is a strange thing that the said duke, who, if he appreciated the possessions and the position that he has, the confidence and the favours that he receives from the Queen, and all that results from this, would have reason to be the happiest and most contented man in the world, and an object of envy to every one; nevertheless, for the caprice of becoming a Prince of the Blood, which it is not in the power of the King to accord him, and to which are opposed his inferiors, his equals, and the Princes of the Blood, also, although they are his brothers-in-law, becomes restless and wretched and finds pleasure in nothing."†

To these aspirations, Longueville joined a more practical one. He had set his heart upon obtaining the government of Havre, which was held by Madame d'Aiguillon for her nephew, the young Duc de Richelieu. But in this he fared no better than had La Rochefoucauld, who, it will be remembered, had vainly endeavoured to secure

* Servien to Mazarin, August 21, 1648. † *Carnet IX.*

the same post some years before: for Mazarin, always true to the memory of the great Cardinal, told the duke that he did him great wrong in believing him to be so base as to despoil the nephew and heir of his benefactor. This rebuff, added to the other causes of complaint which he believed that he had against the Government, already inclined him to a policy of opposition; and the arguments of his wife speedily dissipated any lingering scruples which he might have entertained.

But, gratifying as such accessions to his party were, they were of small importance in comparison with the great object of La Rochefoucauld's intrigues: that of securing the adhesion of *Monsieur le Prince* himself. If this could once be achieved, a staggering blow would undoubtedly be dealt to the Government, and the success of himself and his friends assured. For how could the Regent and Mazarin hope to resist a combination of the princes, the Parlement, and the populace, with the hero of Rocroi at their head? In a few weeks at the most, the humiliated Regent would be forced to sue for terms; Mazarin would retire into the obscurity from which he had sprung, and high offices and immense pensions would compensate La Rochefoucauld and the "Importants" for the cruel disappointments and mortifications they had endured.

The project was a tempting one, nor was its realisation, though difficult, at all improbable, since not only did Madame de Longueville possess great influence over her brother; but it was an open secret that *Monsieur le Prince* cherished more than one grievance against Mazarin and the Court.

In June 1646 Condé's brother-in-law, Armand de Maillé, Duc de Brézé, Admiral of France, had been killed by a cannon-ball at the siege of Orbitello. Brézé was unmarried, and his nephew, the infant Duc d'Albret, son of the Duc d'Enghien, as Condé then was, was his nearest male relative. The Condés considered that he ought to succeed his uncle in the Admiralty and his other offices, and lost no time in demanding them for him. But, as the Vendômes, who had been deprived of the Admiralty by Richelieu after the conspiracy of Chalais, might fairly urge that they had by this time purged the fault which had caused the loss of the office and that it ought to be restored to them, the Regent, on Mazarin's advice, decided

to escape from the difficulty by keeping the Admiralty in her own hands, together with the governments of La Rochelle and Brouage, which went with it. This affair had greatly irritated Condé against the Cardinal and he was still further incensed against him by the result of the campaign of 1647 in Catalonia, where he had been compelled to raise the siege of Lerida, largely owing to the non-arrival of the supplies and siege-artillery promised him by Mazarin. It was his first reverse, and, though he had done everything possible to ensure success, his mortification was none the less keen, and he returned to France complaining bitterly of what he called the disloyalty of the Cardinal. Nor was his anger lessened by the satires and derisive doggerel with which the fickle Parisians, who judged only by results, greeted the commander who had hitherto been deemed invincible.

In order to give Condé an opportunity of effacing the memory of Lerida, Mazarin, in the following spring, offered him the command of whichever army he preferred. He chose that of Flanders, with which he captured Yprès (May 29); but once more the Minister failed to redeem his promises; neither the soldiers' pay nor supplies were forthcoming, though it is only fair to Mazarin to observe that internal dissensions had so paralysed the collection of taxes that the Treasury was almost empty. Condé was bitterly mortified at seeing his army gradually melting away, beneath the stress of hunger, sickness and desertion, and wrote to the Minister of War that if the delays of the contractors continued, he should have no alternative but to disband his whole army.

Nevertheless, on August 20, he gained the Battle of Lens, perhaps his most brilliant victory, though his army by this time had been reduced to less than half its original strength. But even this triumph did not cause him to forget the ceaseless anxiety and bitter mortifications which he had been compelled to endure for so many weeks, through the failure of the Government to support him; and he was inclined to lend an only too-willing ear to those who insinuated that the difficulties under which he had had to contend had been in some degree due to the jealousy with which Mazarin regarded him.

Before Condé quitted Paris for the campaign of Lens, Madame de Longueville had made more than one attempt to gain him over to the party with which she had now

so closely identified herself; but, greatly to her chagrin, her efforts met with no success. Condé was, above all things, a soldier; he was ambitious, like his father, but, unlike him, his ambitions lay in the direction of conquests in the field, not in the sordid arena of party politics; and at this moment his mind was fully occupied with his plans for the campaign which was about to open, and which he was determined should more than atone for the "failure of Lerida." Moreover, though he disliked and despised Mazarin, he had the good sense to perceive that for the present, at least, the Cardinal's services could not be dispensed with without serious injury to the country's interests; and he felt nothing but contempt for men who did not hesitate to use the embarrassments of the Crown as a means of furthering their own selfish ends. And what had he to gain by all the intrigues in which they wished to engage him? Was he not by birth as high as he could become, unless he acted the madman or the traitor? He therefore lent but a careless ear to his sister's overtures, and the latter was compelled to console herself with the reflection that she had sown seed which might, in different circumstances, bear fruit.

The delegates from the four sovereign companies, who, as we have mentioned, had assembled in the Chambre de Saint-Louis on the day following the authorisation of the Decree of Union by the Regent, did not leave the Government long in doubt as to their intentions. They formed themselves into a veritable commission of inquiry, charged with the duty of investigating abuses in every department of the administration and of reporting upon the best methods for their removal; and drew up a list of twenty-seven propositions, which were submitted to the Parlement and duly approved by that body (July 4). Several of these proposals were excellent, particularly that dealing with arbitrary imprisonment, which anticipated by more than thirty years our own Habeas Corpus Act. Nevertheless, the pretensions of a judicial company, instituted by the royal power, to invest itself with an authority which the States-General themselves did not possess was quite inadmissible. For, although the Parlement had inserted in its decrees that "the Queen was entreated to take these measures," it was impossible to misunderstand that, in reality, it intended to impose its

will and was resolved to refuse subsidies, if the Court did not grant the reforms demanded."*

The Queen, greatly exasperated by such a usurpation of the royal power, vowed that she would maintain intact the authority of her son at any cost. But Mazarin, more prudent than Anne of Austria, pointed out that the time when the Court could safely venture on an open struggle with the magistracy had not yet arrived, and that, in the meanwhile, it was necessary to make some concessions. Sorely against her will, the Queen yielded, and the Government accordingly reduced the *taille*,† abolished the intendancies, except in the three frontier provinces of the Lyonnais, Champagne, and Picardy, where the needs of the army required them, and consented to the establishment of a Chamber of Justice to investigate the misdeeds of the revenue-farmers; while letters-patent were issued declaring that in future no tax whatever should be imposed unless by edicts which had been duly ratified.

But, as appetite grows by what it feeds upon, so did these concessions serve only to stimulate the reforming zeal of the magistracy. They urged that the *taille* should be still further reduced; claimed the right of nominating the persons from whom the King should select the new Chamber of Justice; sought to question the legality of numerous taxes which had at various times been imposed without the ratification of the Parlement; and demanded the suppression of all the intendancies. The Queen was furious at what she deemed the unparalleled presumption of the judges. "I am weary," exclaimed she, "of saying every day: 'We shall see what they will do to-morrow.' M. le Cardinal is a great deal too good; he will spoil everything by always wishing to spare his enemies." Mazarin, ever cautious, answered her: "You are brave, like a recruit who does not understand the danger."‡

Nevertheless, the Minister was becoming seriously alarmed at the situation of affairs; the agitation in Paris was rapidly spreading to the provinces, where it excited

* Chéruel, *Histoire de France pendant la minorité de Louis XIV.*

† The *taille* was the chief item in the French budget. It was a direct tax imposed upon property, and, in theory, proportioned to the amount which persons possessed; but it was levied in a very arbitrary manner. The nobles, the clergy, almost all officials, and many of the cities were exempt, and its weight fell upon the wretched peasantry, whom in many parts of France it had reduced to beggary.

‡ Madame de Motteville, *Mémoires.*

among the ignorant peasants hopes of release from all taxation; people were beginning to compare the condition of France with that of England; and the more unruly members of the Parlement were indulging in the most threatening language, and asserting that, if the Crown continued to dispense with the forms of justice, its subjects would be justified in dispensing with the forms of obedience.* His own position, too, was becoming every day more precarious. The people were weary of war and taxation; the courtiers were bitterly jealous of his influence; the Queen was his sole support. It was imperative that steps should be taken, and without delay, to put an end to the deliberations of the Chambre de Saint-Louis. Accordingly, on the last day of July, the King attended the Palais de Justice, and a new edict was read, which granted the reforms demanded, with certain reservations; but, at the same time, "for various considerations of importance to his subjects," prohibited the continuance of the sessions and directed the Parlement to resume its judicial duties. The magistrates, after a protest from the Advocate-General, duly gave their votes in its favour, as was the invariable custom when the King held a Bed of Justice. But, the very next day, in spite of the efforts of Molé, they resolved to remonstrate against various articles in the edict; and the early part of August was occupied with more or less heated discussions between them and the Government. Such was the position of affairs when, at midnight on August 22, news arrived that, in the plain of Lens, Condé had added another to his list of victories.

CHAPTER X

THE "DAY OF THE BARRICADES"

THE announcement of the brilliant victory of Lens was received in Paris with mixed feelings. The Queen and Mazarin were transported with joy; *Mademoiselle*, who regarded Condé with dislike and jealousy, wept tears of rage; the prince's numerous enemies at Court, if they contrived to disguise their feelings, were not less mortified; while the Parlement feared that

* Mr. J. B. Perkins, "France under Mazarin."

the Queen might use the victory to be revenged upon it.

The apprehensions of the gentlemen of the long robe were but too well founded. Anne of Austria, believing that she could safely venture upon almost anything under cover of the laurels which Condé had gathered, was determined to deal boldly with these insolent judges, who had for months defied her authority and inflicted upon her so many humiliations. Mazarin, as usual, advised caution; but the Queen was so insistent that he eventually yielded, perhaps not altogether reluctant that the leaders of the malcontents should find the Government could not be braved with impunity.

On August 26, a solemn *Te Deum* in honour of the victory was sung at Notre-Dame. The members of the Parlement attended in force, fearing lest otherwise it should be believed that the triumph of their country's arms was not agreeable to them. Immediately after the ceremony, Comminges, captain of the Queen's guards, proceeded to arrest a counsellor named Broussel, and Blancmesnil, a president of the Enquêtes, both of whom had been particularly prominent in opposition to the Court. The arrest of a second member of the Enquêtes had also been ordered; but he was given the alarm and contrived to escape, and *lettres de cachet* were served on three other members of the Parlement, banishing them from Paris.*

Blancmesnil was conveyed to Vincennes and Broussel to Saint-Germain. The latter was an old man of seventy-three, of slender abilities, obstinate and self-opinionated, but of a most irreproachable life, equally esteemed by his colleagues for his integrity and by the populace for his benevolence. The news of his arrest quickly spread and created the most profound indignation. The streets were filled with excited crowds, clamouring for "their father Broussel" to be restored to them. Every hour the tumult increased; Paris seemed on the verge of insurrection.

Molé, speedily informed of what had taken place, lost no time in proceeding to the Palais-Royal, where he sought an audience of the Queen, informed her of the threatening aspect of affairs, and advised her to imme-

* "The Queen," Madame de Motteville tells us, "asked the blessing of the Almighty on her act, as one essential for the public repose, and, as she left the cathedral, whispered to Comminges, 'Go, and God be with you.'"

diately release the prisoners. Anne of Austria, however, though somewhat disquieted at the consequences of her little *coup d'état*, was determined to show a bold front, and coldly replied, that, if the Parlement came in a body and made a formal request for the release of their arrested members, she would give them an answer, but that Molé alone had no right to question her actions.

Scarcely had the grave president departed than another and a very different personage appeared upon the scene, one destined to take an even more prominent part in these troubles than the worthy old leader of the magistracy. Arrayed in rochette and camail, pushing his way with a good-humoured laugh through the shouting crowds, who made room for him to pass, as even the most disorderly mobs will always do for any one who has earned their respect and affection, came the coadjutor of the aged Archbishop of Paris, to offer the Regent his counsel and assistance.

"A Shakespearean figure of Bohemian and *grand seigneur*, of Tartuffe and Don Juan, of captain and prince of the Church ; "* learned, eloquent and witty ; ambitious, turbulent, crafty, and unscrupulous ; brave, dissolute, and lavishly generous. Such was Paul de Gondi, afterwards the Cardinal de Retz, the evil genius of the Fronde. Born in 1613, a member of an old and distinguished family of Italian origin, Retz, to give him at once the title by which he is known to fame, had been compelled by his father to embark upon an ecclesiastical career, although, as he candidly admits, his mind was perhaps the least ecclesiastical in the universe. But the fact that the boy's uncle was Archbishop of Paris, and that preferment would therefore be both sure and speedy, was quite sufficient to outweigh any such trifling objection with the elder Gondi ; and so Paul duly became canon and abbé. He was of course not yet in Holy Orders, and availed himself to the full of the privilege which these half-fledged ecclesiastics possessed of fighting duels and otherwise misconducting themselves. In appearance, he was short and ill-favoured, but his winning manners and the charm of his conversation caused these disadvantages to be overlooked, and his *bonnes fortunes* were numerous, although they would appear to have been dictated more by vanity than by passion. His love of pleasure, however, did not

* M. Bourdeau, *La Rochefoucauld.*

cause him to neglect more serious occupations ; he studied with some degree of diligence, " did the devotee a little,"* preached such eloquent controversial discourses, that he is said to have converted Protestants from the errors of their ways ; and developed a marked taste for political intrigue, which earned him the hostility of Richelieu. On the death of Louis XIII., he was made coadjutor to his uncle, the Archbishop of Paris ; an appointment which secured to him the archbishopric when that prelate, who was already well-stricken in years, should die. Meanwhile, most of the duties of the see devolved upon Retz, and he rapidly became a power in the capital. Intensely ambitious, he early foresaw the important part which the coming troubles might enable him to play, and neglected no opportunity of extending his already considerable influence ; earning the esteem of his clergy by the regularity with which he discharged the outward duties of his office, and the courage and energy wherewith he invariably defended their privileges ; gaining the affection of the people by the affability of his manner and that abundant charity which was to cost him in his old age years of rigid economy ; and the good-will of ladies of high rank —the most valuable of all political agents in those days— by his devotion.

Retz found the Court inclined, in appearance at least, to underrate the danger. To his offer of mediation, the Regent replied that " the authority of the King would restore good order," and when he suggested that the release of Broussel might be an easier way of quelling the tumult, Anne quite lost her temper, and declared that she would rather strangle that popular hero with her own royal hands. After a few whispered words from Mazarin, she grew calmer ; and, as the result of a long consultation between her, the Minister, and several of her most favoured courtiers, the coadjutor was told that he might promise the people the liberty of the prisoners. " Every one," says Retz, " was playing a part. Mazarin pretended to be perfectly tranquil, but was not ; the Queen at times affected mildness, and never was more fierce ; Longueville had an air of sadness, but was really overjoyed, as he always was at the beginning of any movement. The Duc d'Orléans talked eagerly to the Queen, but in private whistled with more than his usual indifer-

* Retz, *Mémoires.*

ence ; while his favourite, La Rivière, the most notorious poltroon of his age, affected to regard the whole matter as a tale full of sound and fury, signifying nothing."

The coadjutor left the Palais-Royal and passed through the streets, telling the people that he had the Queen's word that the prisoners should be set at liberty, and advising them to disperse and await quietly the execution of her Majesty's promise. His task was rendered the easier by the fact that it was growing late, and that most of the demonstrators were both tired and hungry. Soon the crowds dispersed, and the city had resumed its usual appearance. Retz then returned to the Palais-Royal, to inform the Regent of the result of his efforts, but, to his astonishment, met with a very cool reception from her Majesty ; and was informed by a friend that the whole Court was making merry over this " children's game " and his self-imposed duty of putting a stop to it, and that, so far from intending to release the prisoners, the Queen was talking of exiling the whole Parlement to Montargis. Burning with indignation at the treatment he had received, the mortified prelate, above all things desirous of playing a part, hurried back to the city, to inform his flock that they had been tricked, and to devote himself to the congenial task of exciting a revolt. His immense popularity and the inflamed state of popular feeling rendered the accomplishment of this but too easy.

The night passed apparently without disturbance ; nevertheless, before dawn everything was in readiness for a general and well-regulated insurrection. The Chancellor Séguier, proceeding in state to the Palais de Justice, to present to the Parlement a decree of the Council annulling all their acts since the Bed of Justice held on July 31, found chains stretched across the streets, and the citizens gathered in a threatening attitude behind them. His followers endeavoured to force a passage, but were driven back by volleys of stones. Séguier fled and took refuge in the Hôtel de Luynes, on the Quai des Augustins, which was quickly surrounded by a raging mob, who forced their way in and sacked the house ; but fortunately failed to discover their quarry, who had concealed himself in a cupboard. Eventually, the Maréchal de la Meilleraie arrived, at the head of a company of guards, and rescued the Chancellor from his perilous situation.*

* Molé, *Mémoires.*

In the meanwhile, the whole city was in an uproar; barricades sprang up everywhere;* paving-stones were torn up to strengthen the fortifications or to hurl from the windows upon the King's troops, if they dared to advance. Half the population seemed to be in arms; the other half to be encouraging them. Tradesmen, clerks of the courts, apprentices, artisans—all had managed to furnish themselves with some implement which might do duty as a weapon. Pikes, arquebuses, and flags appeared which had not seen the light since the troubles of the League. "I saw," says Retz, "a lance dragged rather than carried by a boy of eight years old, which must assuredly have been used in the wars against the English." And he adds that even children of five or six were running about with poniards in their hands.

At seven o'clock, the Parlement met, and resolved to proceed in a body to the Palais-Royal and demand of the Queen the release of the prisoners. To the number of a hundred and sixty, all clad in their judicial robes, they assembled under the clock of the Palais de Justice; and, walking two and two with the First President at their head, they crossed the Pont-Neuf and proceeded along the Rue Saint-Honoré, all the barricades opening to let them pass. Everywhere they were greeted with deafening cries of "*Vive le Roi! Vive le Parlement! Vive Broussel!*"

On their arrival at the palace, they found the Queen in her *grand cabinet*. With her were the young King, Mazarin, Orléans, Conti, Longueville, the Secretaries of State, and all the chief officers of the Crown. Molé addressed her Majesty boldly, pointing out that the city was in insurrection and that the release of Broussel alone would quiet the tumult. He met with a very rough reception. Anne accused the Parlement of deliberately inciting sedition, and bade them quell the disturbance themselves. If any harm came of it, she declared, they should answer for it with their heads and with those of their wives and children. After which, she hurried into her private cabinet, slamming the door violently after her.

The judges quitted the palace, but presently returned, and informed the Queen that the whole city was in arms,

* Molé tells us that there was a barricade at every hundred paces.

and that it was utterly beyond their power to check the insurrection. Her Majesty, after consulting with Mazarin and other advisers, answered that she would release Broussel, if they, on their side, would discontinue the meetings in the Chambre de Saint-Louis and confine themselves to their judicial duties. This, however, they would not promise, and again set out for the Palais de Justice, but had not proceeded far when they found themselves beset by an infuriated mob, which heaped execrations upon them and accused them of betraying the people's interests. Molé, whose well-known moderation made him an object of suspicion to the more fanatical insurgents, had to bear the brunt of the rabble's indignation. One ruffian seized the unfortunate president by the beard, bidding him return, and vowing that, if he failed to bring back Broussel, he and all his colleagues should be killed.

In obedience to the popular clamour, the magistrates once more retraced their steps—though not a few of them, terrified by the threats of the crowd, had fled to their homes—and informed the Regent that they were prepared to postpone the discussion of all public measures until after the autumn vacation,* in return for the liberation of Broussel. Anne, more alarmed than she cared to show, deemed it prudent to accept this modified submission; and the announcement of her decision had the effect of quieting the disorder, though the populace, mindful of the non-fulfilment of her promise to Retz, refused to lay down their arms until Broussel was actually restored to them. Their doubts were set at rest the following morning, when Broussel arrived from Saint-Germain in one of the royal coaches. Amid frantic demonstrations of joy, the aged counsellor proceeded to Notre-Dame, to return thanks for his deliverance, after which he was escorted by a body of armed citizens to the Palais de Justice. Two hours later, the barricades had disappeared, the rusty weapons of the League had been stored away, the shops had reopened, and "Paris," says Retz, "appeared more tranquil than I have ever seen it on a Good Friday."

Such was the "Day of the Barricades," the first act

* The autumn vacation began in the first week of September, and lasted two months.

in the tragi-comedy of the Fronde.* No great harm had perhaps been done; but the sudden apparition of this people in arms, occupying all the streets, terrorizing the magistrates, repulsing the troops sent to disperse them, blockading the Palais-Royal itself, astonished and alarmed many minds, and recalled to old men the tales which they had heard from their fathers of the tyranny of the Sixteen and of the League. A "*le Balafré*" only was wanting. What if he were to arrive from Flanders?†

This was the question ever present in Mazarin's mind. The prestige of the Government, already seriously diminished by the vacillating policy it had pursued towards the Parlement, had received a staggering blow on the "Day of the Barricades." It was impossible that a Ministry which arbitrarily imprisoned persons one day and released them the next at the bidding of a disorderly mob, could inspire anything but contempt in those who were supposed to render it obedience; and, unless the Court were prepared to go even further than it had already gone in concessions to the magistracy, the recrudescence of the late disturbances was by no means improbable. Condé was the one man who could, if he willed, overawe both Parlement and people, and restore to the Crown its lost authority.

On the other hand, Mazarin was extremely jealous of the influence of *Monsieur le Prince*, and was well aware that the latter regarded him with no friendly feelings. The affection which existed between Madame de Longueville and her brother was, of course, common knowledge; and the Cardinal knew, or at least suspected, that the princess was now completely in the hands of his enemies,

* Retz gives the following explanation of the name Fronde [sling]: "Bachaumont once said that the Parlement behaved like the schoolboys in the Paris ditches, who fling stones and run away when they see the constable, but meet again so soon as his back is turned. This was thought a very pretty comparison. It came to be a subject of ballads, and, upon the peace between the King and the Parlement [the Peace of Rueil, March, 1649], it was revived and applied to those who held out against the Court; and we studied to give it all possible currency, since we observed that it excited the wrath of the people. We therefore resolved that night to wear hat-bands made in the form of a sling, and caused a great number of them to be made ready and distributed among a band of rough fellows. We ourselves wore them last of all, since it would have been considered too much affectation, and have spoiled everything, had we been the first in the mode. It is difficult to express the influence which these trifles had upon the people; their bread, hats, gloves, handkerchieves, and ornaments were all *à la mode de la Fronde*, and we ourselves were more in the fashion through this trifle than in reality."

† Duc d'Aumale, *Histoire des Princes de Condé*.

and prepared to exert all her influence over Condé to draw him into the ranks of the opposition. Were she to succeed, his own political career must come to a speedy determination; while, even if Condé declined to turn against the Court, it was quite conceivable that he might demand, as the price of his loyalty, the dismissal of the hated Minister.

These considerations explain the reluctance of Mazarin to recall the victor of Lens, so long as the smallest hope remained that his services might be dispensed with. On August 29, he writes to Condé, informing him that Paris was now as tranquil as though nothing had happened; and on September 12 instructs him to remain with the army and continue the campaign. But three days later the situation of affairs had again become threatening, and Anne of Austria, on the Minister's advice, wrote to Condé, bidding him return as speedily as possible.

The restoration of order in Paris had not ended the struggle between the Government and the magistracy; and it was soon apparent that the latter were bent on extorting further concessions from the Regent. Ignoring the promise which had been the condition of Broussel's release, the Parlement continued its deliberations; and on September 7, instead of adjourning for the usual autumn recess, which would have secured the harassed Government a respite of two months, decided that the public interests demanded that it should forego its vacation, and requested permission to extend the session.

The Queen was furious, but Mazarin counselled her to consent, pointing out that, until the Government were prepared to resort to force, they had no alternative but to pursue a conciliatory policy. In the meanwhile, he advised her to remove the young King and the Court to Rueil—Richelieu's beautiful country-seat, now the property of the Duchesse d'Aiguillon—and there await the arrival of Condé. When he returned, they would be able to adopt vigorous measures, and, with the aid of the troops now in Flanders, quickly bring the Parlement and their supporters to reason.

Accordingly, in the early morning of September 13, Louis XIV., accompanied by the Cardinal, his *gouverneur*, the Maréchal de Villeroi, and an escort of guards, left the city for Rueil. To avoid any appearance of flight, the Regent and the Court did not follow until

some hours later, Anne having first informed the Provost of the Merchants that their Majesties' departure was due solely to a desire to escape for a few days from the intense heat then prevailing in Paris, and that they would not be absent more than a week. Notwithstanding this assurance, the removal of the Court excited the greatest suspicion amongst the citizens; and it was freely asserted that the step was but a preliminary to a blockade of the city, for which purpose troops had already been recalled from Flanders.

In the meantime, Condé, who was suffering from the effects of a wound received at the siege of Furnes, was returning by easy stages to Paris. He came, it would appear, not without many misgivings, feeling that there was little glory to be gained, and much odium to be incurred, in the rôle which, in all probability, he would be called upon to play. Bussy-Rabutin tells us that, on his entering the prince's room at Calais, the latter began to sing merrily:

Oh! la folle entreprise,
Du Prince de Condé!

—an old song about his father.* In the light of subsequent events, this incident seems almost prophetic.

The prince reached Rueil on September 20, where he found Retz, who, under the mask of pastoral duty, had come to try and discover how the land lay. With him he made an appointment for the following morning, in the garden of the Archbishop of Paris, with the object of discussing measures for preserving peace. At this conference it was agreed that Condé should endeavour to appease the wrath of the Queen; and that, on the other hand, that same night, the coadjutor should conduct the prince, incognito, to Broussel and Longueil, another parliamentary firebrand, to exhort them to moderate their zeal; in which case, he would promise to stand by them. Whether Retz, in proposing this conference between Condé and the counsellors, was really sincere in his desire for an accommodation, as he declares in his *Mémoires*, is difficult to say. But, however that may be, the impetuous conduct of the prince next day, at Rueil, deprived the interview of any importance it might otherwise have had.

* Bussy-Rabutin, *Mémoires*.

This war of arrests and declarations was little to the taste of *Monsieur le Prince*. Theories of government had no interest for him; to the complaints of the magistrates he was very indifferent. But he was unpleasantly impressed by the spirit of revolt which seemed to be everywhere. On his way to Paris, his coach had been stopped by bands of peasants, who desired him to listen to their grievances, and in the capital it was of course much more marked. Even in the King's household, among the officers of the Crown, orders which should have been promptly and cheerfully executed, were obeyed with reluctance, and sometimes disregarded altogether. Before all things, he felt that order must be re-established, and the royal authority upheld.

On the 22nd, Condé again visited Rueil, where he found a deputation from the Parlement, which had come to demand the liberation of Chavigny, who, five days after the departure of the Court from Paris, had been arrested and thrown into close confinement at Vincennes, of which château he was governor; while, at the same time, another unquiet spirit, in the person of Châteauneuf, the former Keeper of the Seals, had been exiled to Berry. Chavigny had been one of Richelieu's *protégés*, and Mazarin appears to have been considerably indebted to him at the beginning of his political career, a fact of which he was never tired of reminding the Cardinal. Mazarin, however, regarded him as a dangerous rival: and when, on becoming Regent, Anne, who detested Chavigny, had expressed a wish to get rid of him, the Cardinal had made but a half-hearted effort on his behalf; and Chavigny was, accordingly, deprived of his post as Secretary of State. Some months later, when Mazarin considered that he had been sufficiently chastened, he recalled him to the Council. Both Châteauneuf and Chavigny had considerable influence in the Parlement, which they had certainly not used in favour of the Court. But the real motive of the latter's arrest was Mazarin's suspicion that he was engaged, if not in a conspiracy, at least in secret intrigues with the House of Condé; and his hôtel had been ransacked from cellar to attic, without, however, any compromising documents being forthcoming.

The deputation from the Parlement having presented their petition, which seems to have been couched in somewhat forcible language, and the Regent having

haughtily replied that she was accountable only to God and the King, her son, for what she had done, the magistrates invited Condé to take his place in the Grand Chambre and assist them with his advice. But the prince, taken unawares, excused himself, observing that he should take the Queen's orders upon that subject and should act according to them; exhorted the "gentlemen of the Parlement" to submit themselves entirely to the royal will; and ended by declaring that he was ready to spill the last drop of his blood on behalf of the Crown. The Regent could not conceal her delight. "*C'est mon troisième fils!*" she cried: while the little King embraced his celebrated cousin, and Mazarin beamed with satisfaction.

Condé's outspoken language seriously disquieted the magistrates; and the news that a force of four thousand Germans in the French service, under the command of d'Erlach, had crossed the Somme and was marching on Paris, increased their alarm. The Provost of the Merchants was summoned to the Palais de Justice and directed to take all necessary precautions for the security of Paris. Business was at a standstill; many persons left the city, and the streets were crowded with waggons and carts removing valuables and household property. In a word, every one believed that they were on the eve of the civil war which broke out some months later; when all of a sudden the Court again assumed a conciliatory attitude, and invited deputies from the Parlement to a conference at Saint-Germain, whither it was on the point of removing.

Meanwhile, a stormy interview had taken place between *Monsieur le Prince* and his sister, who had remained in Paris, although her husband, after some hesitation, had followed the Court to Rueil. Madame de Longueville did everything in her power to induce her brother to throw in his lot with the malcontent nobles and the Parlement. She appealed to the intense affection which had always existed between them; she reminded him of his grievances against Mazarin; she enlarged upon the "ingratitude" which the Queen had displayed in refusing to confer the Admiralty upon his son; and, in short, neglected nothing which she thought might influence that proud and fickle heart. But all her arguments, all her entreaties, were in vain. Condé replied that his place was near the throne

to protect it with his sword against its enemies, whoever they might be, whether at home or abroad, and that no consideration could induce him to desert it in its hour of need.

Some writers affirm that the prince had been greatly irritated against Madame de Longueville, owing to the interference of the latter three years before with his project of obtaining the dissolution of his marriage with Mademoiselle de Brézé ; and that, since that time, her influence over him had greatly diminished. This, however, does not appear to have been the case ; but, on the other hand, it is certain that he had from the first strongly disapproved of her intimacy with La Rochefoucauld, and that, previous to his departure for the campaign of Lens, he had endeavoured, though without success, to wean her from this fatal infatuation. On his return to Paris, he had the mortification to find that the connection had become common knowledge ; and he now reproached his sister bitterly with her conduct, and said many hard things both of her and her lover. The result was a violent quarrel and an open separation ; Madame de Longueville plunged more deeply into the intrigues of the Fronde, and Condé became only the more determined to uphold the authority of the Crown against the factions which were seeking to undermine it.

Notwithstanding the uncompromising attitude which the prince had assumed towards the parliamentary deputation at Rueil, and the resolute tone he had taken with Madame de Longueville, he was still opposed to extreme measures, so long as any hope of a peaceful settlement remained ; since, although he strongly disapproved of the insubordinate proceedings of the magistrates, and of the intrigues of his sister's friends, who were inciting them to resistance, he recognised that to crush the Parlement altogether would probably result in the undisputed ascendency of Mazarin, which was the very last thing he desired. In a second conference of three hours which he had with the coadjutor, he complained, according to Retz, of both the Parlement and Mazarin : " The Mazarin," said he, " is not aware of what he is doing ; he would ruin the State, if one did not take care. . . . The Parlement goes too fast ; it is rushing into danger, and, were I to rush with it, I should perhaps be a greater gainer than it would be. But my name is Louis de Bourbon, and I will

not shake the Crown. Those devils of square-caps—are they mad that they would compel me either to make a civil war, or strangle them, and place over their heads, as well as over mine, a rascally Sicilian, who will ruin us all in the end ?"*

Retz declares that it was he who suggested to Condé the idea of a conference between deputies from the Parlement and the representatives of the Court ; and that the prince at once proceeded to Saint-Germain and strongly advised the Queen to adopt this course. Anne's mortification was great, for, after the bold language used by *Monsieur le Prince*, at Rueil, on the 22nd, she had confidently anticipated that she would have no difficulty in persuading him to lend himself to a policy of repression, and take command of the forces with which she intended to overcome the resistance of the Parlement and its allies. But Mazarin, though his disappointment at Condé's change of front was not less keen, represented to her that, without the prince's assistance, it would be madness to venture upon a civil war ; and that, as he himself advised an accommodation, she had no alternative but to do as he wished, and postpone a resort to arms until a more favourable opportunity.

Bazin, in his excellent history of the administration of Mazarin,† rejects this narrative of Retz, and attributes to the Cardinal himself the sudden change in the disposition of the Court ; but Retz's account is accepted by Chéruel and the Duc d'Aumale. The former points out that Mazarin's *Carnets* certainly do not confirm Bazin's view of the matter ; but, on the contrary, prove that the Cardinal was indignant at seeing the Regent reduced to negotiating with the Parlement, and complained bitterly of the weakness of the princes, whom he accused of not sustaining the royal power. "It is a strange thing," he writes, "that the King is insensibly reduced to negotiating a settlement with the Parlement on equal terms, and without the Queen being able to prevent it, since the most influential persons about her assist the latter by not declaring openly, as has so many times been resolved, that the Parlement ought in no way to hope for it." Mazarin adds that he has vainly pressed the Prince de Condé to adopt a firm tone towards the Parlement, for the

* Retz, *Mémoires.* † *Histoire de France sous le ministère de Mazarin.*

good of the State and the maintenance of the royal authority.*

The conference at Saint-Germain opened on September 25. The Court was represented by the Duc d'Orléans, the Princes de Condé and de Conti, the Duc de Longueville—the two latter of whom had received instructions from Madame de Longueville to counteract so far as they could the influence of her elder brother—the Chancellor Séguier, and the Maréchal de la Meilleraie, the Comptroller-General; the Parlement, by its First President Molé, the Présidents de Mesmes, de Novion, de Maisons, and several counsellors. Mazarin took no direct part in the discussions, the Parlement having exhumed the decree of 1617 against the Maréchal d'Ancre,† and refused to treat with a Minister who was a foreigner; but his *Carnets* show that he followed them with the most vigilant attention.

After long and somewhat acrimonious deliberations, in which Condé's fiery temper and love of raillery not infrequently got the better of his pacific intentions and deeply offended the magistrates, all the demands of the Chambre de Saint-Louis were granted with some slight modifications. On October 22, the Queen, with many tears, affixed her signature to the charter, and on the 24th—the same day on which the Peace of Westphalia was concluded—it was ratified by the Parlement, and hailed as "a work of God for the preservation of France, and not the work of men."‡

If, in signing this decree, Anne of Austria had been acting in good faith, it would undoubtedly have been of the highest importance, and have constituted a permanent advance towards a better system of government. But neither the Queen nor Mazarin had the smallest intention of observing its provisions for a moment longer than necessity compelled them; and the former had only been brought to resign herself to a concession which signified to her the humiliation of the Crown and the defeat of her Government, by the Cardinal's assurance that she would be justified in violating it, so soon as she found herself

* *Carnet X.* Chéruel, *Histoire de la France pendant la minorité de Louis XIV.*

† This decree interdicted, under pain of death, any foreigner from taking part in the Ministry.

‡ André d'Ormesson, *Mémoires inédits*, cited by A. Feillet, *la Misère du Temps de la Fronde.*

in a position to impose her will on the Parlement and its supporters.

The Regent, imbued with the ideas which she had brought from Spain, refused to admit that any limit ought to be placed to the authority of the King; and deemed it to be her duty to remit to her son the royal power as intact as she had found it. If, for the moment, it was inexpedient to resort to force in order to preserve the sacred trust reposed in her, then dissimulation and trickery must be employed; and she had listened to the Cardinal's insidious suggestion without the smallest compunction. As for Mazarin, laws did not exist for him, or existed only so far as they might serve his own purposes. When they were at variance with these, he ignored them and regarded the violent denunciations of which he had lately been the object with the most supreme indifference. Even while he was advising the Queen to yield to the demands of the magistrates, Mazarin was busily engaged in concerting measures for a decisive struggle with the Fronde. His plan was to wait until the rival armies on the Flemish frontier had gone into winter quarters; then, to recall all the troops which could be spared; concentrate them around Paris, remove the Court again from the capital, and, by a rigorous blockade, cut off supplies, and reduce the citizens to submission by famine.

But, to ensure the success of this scheme, it was imperative that Condé should be persuaded to take command of the royal army, and lend to the Government his unequalled military skill and the prestige of his name; and, to obtain his consent, all Mazarin's cunning was now devoted. Madame de Motteville tells us that at this time the Queen frequently complained of her Minister. "She attacked even the Cardinal; she spoke to him before others with strange brusqueness, and blamed him for his moderation." The *Carnets*, however, which often reveal the secret motives of events which the memoirs of the time recount without penetrating their true causes, prove that the Queen's dissatisfaction was merely a skilful ruse, adopted on the advice of Mazarin himself, to disarm Condé's hostility towards the Minister and to secure the aid of his sword. She must, he tells her, flatter Condé, appeal to his sense of generosity, his chivalry, and not spare the Cardinal himself, whose weakness she was to

blame severely. She must declare her belief that Mazarin was one of those " who thought more about offending the Parlement than the King." Finally, she was to hint that it might be necessary to replace him by a more energetic Minister, presumably Châteauneuf, a deadly enemy of the House of Condé.

CHAPTER XI

THE FLIGHT TO SAINT-GERMAIN

AFTER the ratification of the Declaration of October 22, the Provost of the Merchants and the sheriffs of Paris visited Saint-Germain and entreated Anne of Austria to bring the King back to the capital. She hesitated, but Mazarin counselled her to yield to the wish of the inhabitants, and the beginning of November found their Majesties re-established at the Palais-Royal.

Scarcely had the Court returned when trouble began again, this time between the princes. Although Madame de Longueville had temporarily lost her influence over her elder brother, she governed the younger entirely; his life, all his actions, were regulated by her; he seemed only to see with her eyes. Conti had for some months past shown himself very undecided with regard to the career for which he had been intended since his childhood, being divided between a strong aversion for the ecclesiastical state and an ambition which could find no other cloak than the Roman purple. Now, the worthless Abbé de la Rivière, who controlled Gaston d'Orléans's vacillating mind, also aspired to a cardinal's hat; and, as the support of his patron was very necessary to Mazarin, the Minister, seeing Conti so undecided, had believed he might safely promise the abbé that he should be the next French cardinal. Accordingly, during the previous summer, La Rivière's name had been formally presented for that honour by the French Ambassador at Rome, and Mazarin had written to Donna Olympia Maldalchini, Innocent X.'s sister-in-law, who governed his Holiness entirely, asking her to grant the promotion. But suddenly, at the end of October, the Dowager Princesse de Condé informed the Queen that her son had definitely

made up his mind "to consent to become a Cardinal," and begged her Majesty to assist him at the Court of Rome.

This decision, it appears, had been arrived at by the young prince on the advice of his sister; and there can be little doubt that her object was to embroil Orléans with Mazarin, and also with Condé, of whose influence he was already very jealous, and draw him into the ranks of the opposition. In this she was very nearly successful. The pretensions of Conti, of course, ruined the hopes of the Abbé de la Rivière, as it was useless for him to contend with the advantages the prince derived from his superior rank. Orléans keenly resented the blow to his favourite's ambitions, which he seemed to regard as a personal injury; and, spurred on by the mortified abbé, and by the enemies of the Court, who hastened to avail themselves of so excellent an opportunity of exciting discord, assumed a most threatening attitude. "The Luxembourg," writes Lionne to Servien, "is continually full of firebrands. The conduct of the Abbé de la Rivière is very bad and very imprudent. He has made his Royal Highness undertake to support the pretensions of all those who have come to offer him their services."*

The quarrel divided the Court, and became every day more serious; one might have imagined that the "Fronde of the Princes" was about to begin; but the hour was not yet come. Mazarin's tact saved the situation. The Maréchaux d'Estrées and La Ferté-Senneterre were appointed to arbitrate upon the matter; and, as the result of their deliberations, La Rivière accepted, as compensation for his disappointment, which, he was assured, should be only a temporary one, the title of Minister of State, and the entry to the King's Council. Thus, the wrath of Gaston was appeased, and his promise obtained to support the Court against the attacks of the Parlement.

This little intrigue was not the only one in which Madame de Longueville indulged during the autumn of 1648. Mazarin's *Carnets* and the despatches of his confidant Lionne to Servien, prove that, although deprived of the support of Condé, the lady was occasioning the Cardinal serious embarrassment. "Madame de Longueville and her husband," writes Mazarin, "are at present very much together. She governs the Prince de Conti, and the three are very ill satisfied with *Monsieur le Prince*. Longueville

* Letter of November 6, 1648, published by Chéruel.

places his hopes in my changing, and is in accord with his wife." The hopes to which the Cardinal refers were the much-coveted government of Havre, and also that of the Pont-de-l'Arche, in Normandy. To have entrusted these places to a man who was already governor of the province, would have been to set up a species of independent sovereign. Moreover, as we have seen, Mazarin had already twice declined to deprive the young Duc de Richelieu of Havre, and he was resolute in refusing the duke's demands. Probably Madame de Longueville never imagined that they would be accorded, and her only reason for encouraging her husband's ambition was to widen the breach between him and the Cardinal.

On St. Martin's Day (November 11), the courts reassembled, and in a temper very hostile to the Government. Complaints were made that the Declaration of October 22 was not being observed; and, although Orléans and Condé came down to the Palais de Justice and endeavoured to reassure the judges, their intervention only added fuel to the flame. Several magistrates, prominent among whom were Broussel and Viole, one of the presidents of the Cour des Enquêtes, continued their attacks on the Government; and the latter, declaring that "the axe must be laid to the root of the tree," began a most violent harangue against "the Mazarin." Orléans interrupted him, and was supported by Condé, who, it was alleged, indulged in a threatening gesture towards Viole. The prince often afterwards declared that he had had no intention of threatening the president; but his action, whether involuntary or not, greatly exasperated the assembly, and he was obliged to resume his seat, amid angry cries. The following day, there was another passage of arms between *Monsieur le Prince* and a counsellor named Brévannes-Aubrey, who had compared the Declaration of October to "an excellent picture painted by the most skilful hand, and which a worthless workman (*i.e.* Mazarin) had ruined by meddling with it." Condé sprang up and angrily stopped the speaker, who replied that the First President alone had the right to interrupt there; and Mathieu Molé had no choice but to uphold the counsellor.

These incidents naturally did not tend to diminish the dislike and contempt which the haughty soldier had always entertained for the gentlemen of the long robe;

and his hostility was skilfully fomented by the well-timed advances of Anne of Austria and the pretended submission of the Cardinal. To attach Condé more firmly to her cause, the Queen, in December, issued letters-patent conferring upon him and his successors the *seigneuries* of Stenai, in Champagne, Dun-le-Roi and Varennes, in Berry, Jametz, in the Barrois, and Clermont-en-Argonne, with the most extensive privileges.

Matters rapidly grew worse. Paris was in a state of agitation. The hatred of "the Mazarin," more ardent than ever, revealed itself in a score of different ways; in violent speeches in the Palais de Justice; in biting epigrams in the salons of Madame de Longueville and her friends: in ribald songs in the streets; in the taverns, where thieves and lacqueys drank to his confusion; on the Pont-Neuf, where urchins hawked abusive pamphlets and shouted: "*Point de Mazarin.*" The Cardinal was accused of wishing to elude the engagements of Saint-Germain; he was attacked because he had failed to make peace with Spain; he was denounced as the protector of the detested farmers of the revenues; in short, he was the common enemy and oppressor of all.

Retz had a finger in every intrigue. So soon as he recognised the hopelessness of inducing Condé to accept the leadership of the Frondeurs, his thoughts had turned towards *Monsieur le Prince's* brother. "I went by chance," he says, "to see Madame de Longueville, whom I saw very seldom, because I was a great friend of her husband, who was not the person in all the Court the most in favour with her. I found her alone: she fell into conversation upon public affairs, which were then the fashion; she appeared to me to be very angry with the Court. . . . I was quite aware that Monsieur le Prince de Conti was entirely in her hands. I well knew the weakness of the Prince de Conti; he was almost a child, but that child was a Prince of the Blood. I only wanted a name to animate what without one would be a mere phantom. . . . All these ideas struck my imagination at once. So soon as I had opened to Madame de Longueville the smallest glimmering of the part she might play in the state to which affairs were then tending, she entered into it with more ecstasy of joy than I can express to you."*

* Retz, *Mémoires.*

The coadjutor soon succeeded in establishing very confidential relations with Madame de Longueville, whom, by the way, he complacently informs us "he could have placed in his heart between Mesdames de Guéménée and de Pommereux, had the benefice not been already filled." And the two, together with the Duc de Longueville and the Prince de Conti, had a conference at Noisy with Broussel, Longueil, and other firebrands of the Parlement, at which, says La Rochefoucauld, "the whole plan of the civil war was resolved upon." That nobleman was at this time in his father's government of Poitou, the population of which province had lately been exhibiting an inclination to recover by forcible means the taxes which had been extorted from it, and had stormed and sacked the offices of several receivers of the revenues. He had gone thither, if we are to believe his own account of the matter, on the distinct understanding that his services in repressing the disorders were to be rewarded by ducal privileges (*lettres de duc*) for himself and a *tabouret* for his wife.* When his task had been accomplished, he discovered, to his disgust, that Mazarin and the Queen had found it inconvenient to remember their part of the bargain: and that, though ducal privileges had lately been bestowed upon no less than six persons, he himself was not among them. On learning from Madame de Longueville of what had taken place at Noisy, "he experienced great pleasure at seeing that, in spite of the state to which the harshness of the Queen and the hatred of the Cardinal had reduced him, there still remained to him means to be avenged upon them." On his return to Paris, he entered into active co-operation with Retz and "applied himself to surmounting the fears and irresolutions of the Prince de Conti and the Duc de Longueville, who were intended to give the *branle* to this great enterprise."

The coadjutor, on his side, was no less active against the Court. He had recently been disappointed in the hope of becoming Governor of Paris, and this had stimulated him to fresh mischief. Having secured the right of sitting in the Parlement, in place of the archbishop, his uncle, he encouraged the magistrates in their onslaughts

* The *tabouret* was a stool, on which Princes and Princesses of the Blood, foreign princes and princesses, cardinals, and dukes and duchesses—in fact all persons whom it was customary for their Majesties to address as "Cousin" had the privilege of seating themselves in the presence of the King and Queen. Occasionally, as a special favour it was accorded to other persons.

upon the Cardinal; while, at the same time, he used his pastoral office to incite his flock to resistance. An edict authorising the payment of ten per cent. on loans to the Government was eagerly seized upon by him to excite the passions of the populace. Having sought the opinion of the doctors of the Sorbonne, who answered that to loan money at ten per cent. was usury and a mortal sin, he called his curés and canons together, and instructed them to denounce from their pulpits an edict which sought openly to authorise what was condemned by the law of God. "Although," he writes, "I had not so much as mentioned the Cardinal's name in the conference, in a week's time I made him pass for one of the most obstinate Jews in Europe."

The offending edict was withdrawn; but Anne of Austria and her Minister, feeling that their position had become intolerable, resolved to have recourse without further delay to the measures they had for weeks been contemplating to coerce the Parlement and people into obedience. At a meeting of the Council, to which only those upon whose support Mazarin could rely were summoned, the Cardinal announced the intentions of the Regent. "Her Majesty," he said, "was resolved to put an end to the progress of disorder, and to crush the resistance of the Parlement and the municipality, who were making common cause. The King and the Queen-Mother would quit the capital with their Households; Paris would be blockaded and reduced by famine."

The preparations for leaving Paris were made with great secrecy. The time chosen for the enterprise was the early morning of January 6, the Feast of the Epiphany. During the previous evening, Anne of Austria, ever an adept at dissimulation, appeared in excellent spirits, cut the "*gâteau des rois*," jested with her ladies, watched the King playing cards, and announced her intention of spending the following day in devotions at the Val-de-Grâce. About midnight she retired to rest, but rose again immediately and made her preparations for flight. At three o'clock, with the King and his younger brother, the little Duc d'Anjou, and a few of their most trusted attendants, she descended by the back staircase into the garden, where coaches were waiting to convey the party to the Cours-la-Reine, the rendezvous decided upon. Here they were joined by Mazarin, Condé, Orléans,

Mademoiselle, the two Princesses de Condé, the little Duc d'Enghien, the Prince de Conti, and a few courtiers to whom the secret had been entrusted. Conti, Retz tells us, had been surprised in bed by his imperious brother, who, distrustful of his loyalty, had compelled him to dress and accompany him.

Through the frosty night, the fugitives drove to Saint-Germain. The necessity of maintaining secrecy as to their plans had precluded any preparations for their reception; and, as it was then the custom to dismantle the summer residences of the Court in winter, even to the glass in the windows, they found themselves in a most uncomfortable situation. There were no beds, no furniture, no linen, and no servants. "The Queen slept in a little bed, which the Cardinal had sent out from Paris for the purpose, a few days earlier. He had provided another for the King; and there were, besides, two other little camp-beds, one of which served for *Monsieur*, and the other for himself. The Duchesse d'Orléans slept on straw, as did *Mademoiselle*. All others who followed the Queen had the same fate, and in a few hours straw became so scarce at Saint-Germain, that none could be obtained for money."*

Madame de Longueville was not among those who accompanied their Majesties in this picturesque exodus. The Queen had the previous evening sent a note to the Dowager Princesse de Condé, inviting her to follow her to Saint-Germain, and to bring her daughter also. *Madame la Princesse* immediately went to the duchess, who was spending the night at the Hôtel de Condé, on account of the Epiphany, and informed her of her Majesty's wishes. But the lady, who was again enceinte and approaching her confinement, excused herself, on the ground of her delicate state of health; and moreover declared that she dared not leave the city without the permission of her husband, who was then at his château of Coulommiers. The Princesse de Condé, who was not without her suspicions that her daughter's disinclination to accompany the Royal Family was prompted by some stronger reason, pressed her to reconsider the matter, pointing out the danger of her remaining in a city which would soon be in a state of siege and given over to all kinds of disorder. But Madame de Longueville, repressing a smile, hastened to assure

* Madame de Motteville, *Mémoires*.

her mother that she might leave her without anxiety, "since she knew very well that the Parisians would do her no harm;" and the princess, finding her inexorable, was compelled to set out alone. The Queen, when informed of Madame de Longueville's absence, was not a little astonished; but, having no conception of what was to happen later, accepted the excuses offered by the Princesse de Condé on her daughter's behalf.

Great was the consternation in Paris when it became known that their Majesties and the chief officers of the State had fled from the capital. For some time the concentration of troops around the city had excited indignation and alarm, and there could be no longer any doubt as to the purpose for which they were to be employed. Most of the nobility hastened to leave the town, and either went to Saint-Germain, or made their way to their country-houses. Among those who proceeded to Saint-Germain, was La Rochefoucauld, who set out with the intention of persuading Conti and Longueville to return to Paris and declare openly for the Fronde. The latter had received an imperative message from Condé, bidding him join the Court, which he had not the hardihood to disobey; and, aware of his irresolute character, La Rochefoucauld and Madame de Longueville were fearful that he might after all desert them.

Now that the die was actually cast, the Parlement seemed decidedly alarmed at the consequences of its audacity; and, on the motion of the Président de Mesmes, declared that any measures which it might find necessary to adopt for the safety of the city were directed against the Minister (Marazin), and not against the King. The Hôtel de Ville was not less embarrassed, and despatched a deputation to Saint-Germain, which protested its loyalty and entreated their Majesties to return to their bereaved capital, in terms so touching, that every one, we are assured, even the young King, was melted to tears. The Queen and *Monsieur le Prince*, however, remained implacable; and the former sent a message to the Parlement commanding it to retire to Montargis; while the municipal authorities were informed that so soon as the judges departed by one gate, their Majesties would return by the other. In the meantime, those members of the Parlement who refused obedience were declared guilty of high treason, and a decree of the King's Council forbade

the country people to sell their cattle to the Paris butchers.

On arriving at Saint-Germain, La Rochefoucauld experienced little difficulty in persuading the Prince de Conti to agree to make his escape and return to his beloved sister; but it was otherwise with the Duc de Longueville. That vacillating nobleman, it appeared, had no sooner rejoined the Court, than he had hastened to assure their Majesties of his own loyalty and that of his government of Normandy, and found himself in consequence in an exceedingly embarrassing position. He raised all manner of objections to the proposed escape, declaring that he bitterly resented having pledged himself to the Frondeurs; and La Rochefoucauld was in constant dread lest he should reveal everything to Condé, in which case both Conti and himself would be promptly placed under arrest. Moreover, it was of great importance that Longueville should be induced to come out boldly on the side of the Fronde, as, not only would the prestige of his rank strengthen their cause in Paris, but the influence he possessed in Normandy would probably suffice to raise that province, already seething with discontent, against the Government.

La Rochefoucauld sent his secretary, Gourville,* to Paris to consult with Madame de Longueville, the coadjutor, and the leaders of the belligerent section of the Parlement, as to the best course to adopt; and, at length, under the pressure of reproaches, and of threats that if he abandoned his allies, they would publish to the world the whole story of his part in the "Treaty of Noisy" and other compromising incidents, the duke yielded to their persuasions.

It was arranged that at one o'clock in the morning of January 10, Longueville and Conti should meet La Rochefoucauld in the Cour des Cuisines of the château, where the last-named would have horses in readiness to enable them to escape to Paris. La Rochefoucauld was at the rendezvous punctually at the time appointed; but, though he waited till daylight, neither of the princes appeared. He began to fear that they had been arrested, and that he himself would probably share their fate; and was already speculating on the very unpleasant consequences which would ensue, when a friend arrived

* Jean Hérault de Gourville (1625–1703), the author of the *Mémoires*.

with the news that, finding a favourable opportunity for effecting their escape the previous evening, they had availed themselves of it and set off for Paris. Greatly relieved, La Rochefoucauld immediately mounted his horse, and, accompanied by the Marquis de Noirmoutier, took the road to the capital.*

Although the irresolute Longueville had been persuaded to leave Saint-Germain, Conti experienced no small difficulty in getting him safely to Paris. Before they had gone very far, he began bemoaning his sad fate, expatiating on the dangers of the enterprise to which they had so rashly committed themselves, and finally suggested that they should turn back. "Monsieur," said he, "let us return to the King, and not set fire to all four corners of France, which would undoubtedly happen through this separation." The young prince, however, more amenable to the influence of his sister than was the husband to that of his wife, insisted on their continuing their journey, and bitterly reproached his brother-in-law with his timidity; and, stung by his contempt, the duke reluctantly yielded.

On reaching the Porte Saint-Honoré, they were refused admission by the citizens who guarded the gate; and it was not until the coadjutor and Broussel arrived on the scene and gave assurances of their fidelity to the popular cause, that they were permitted to enter, and were conducted through the streets to the Hôtel de Longueville, amid the acclamations of the people.

Saint-Germain was in a state of consternation when it became known that the princes had fled, and that La Rochefoucauld had also disappeared. The Dowager Princesse de Condé, who was one of the first to learn what had occurred, was in despair, believing that the Queen might suspect that she had been a party to her son's treason. Without a moment's delay, she hastened to her Majesty's bed-chamber, crying: "Madame, I entreat your pardon! Place me under arrest! Throw me into prison!" The Queen, greatly astonished, rose and begged for an explanation, upon which the distracted princess, falling on her knees, exclaimed: "Madame, I am the most unhappy person in the world; my son, the Prince de Conti, and M. de Longueville have thrown themselves into Paris!"

The Queen readily exonerated *Madame la Princesse*

* La Rochefoucauld, *Mémoires.*

from all blame; but both she and the Cardinal were greatly alarmed, for, the previous afternoon, Condé himself had left Saint-Germain, saying that he was going to reconnoitre the surrounding country; and they feared that the flight of the princes was but the first act in a plot of which he was the soul. When the young general reappeared that evening, their relief was great; and his denunciations of his relatives' treachery, too violent to be counterfeited, removed their last doubts. The Court endeavoured to minimize the importance of this incident; but the presence of the princes in the ranks of the Frondeurs remained a grave fact. Fortunately, neither of the deserters had left exactly a blank in the royal army. From a military point of view, Condé probably felt that they could well be spared.

CHAPTER XII

THE BLOCKADE OF PARIS

IN the meanwhile, civil war had begun. The Parlement had answered the royal proclamation, banishing it to Montargis by a decree declaring Mazarin "a disturber of the public peace and an enemy of the King and the state," and enjoining him to leave the Court within twenty-four hours, and the kingdom within a week; and, at the same time, voting that troops should be raised in sufficient numbers to provide for the sustenance and safety of Paris. To defray the necessary expenses, the Parlement levied a tax of 150 livres upon every house *à porte cochère*, and of thirty livres upon every shop; and set the first example of self-denial by taxing its own members to the extent of a million livres. An army of some 12,000 men was organised, which included a regiment of horse, furnished by Retz at his own expense, and named after his titular archbishopric of Corinth the "Regiment of Corinthians." In the first encounter with the royal troops, the coadjutor's men sustained an ignominious defeat, upon which the wags of Paris promptly dubbed the combat "the First of Corinthians."

The next business was the selection of officers. The citizen militia elected Le Féron, Provost of the Merchants, for their temporary chief, and some of the most prominent

members of the Parlement as their colonels; but when the malcontent nobles crowded into the city, demanding to join in the movement, it was felt that their zeal in the popular cause ought to be rewarded with the principal commands. The Duc d'Elbeui, a needy and ambitious member of the House of Lorraine, went to the Hôtel de Ville and made a speech to the municipal authorities which so impressed the city fathers,* that they straightway elected him commander-in-chief, and persuaded the Parlement to ratify their choice. But this exalted position he only held for some forty-eight hours, as, on Conti's arrival, he was compelled, to his intense mortification, to retire in favour of the youthful prince. Conti accordingly became "Generalissimo of the armies of the King under the orders of the Parlement;" Beaufort, who had been acquitted by the Parlement of the charges that had so long hung over him, and who rode through the streets accompanied by the coadjutor chanting his praises, and followed by crowds of admiring women; Turenne's elder brother, the Duc de Bouillon; the disappointed Elbeuf and the Maréchal de la Mothe-Houdancourt were generals under him; while La Rochefoucauld, the Duc de Luynes, and the Marquis de Noirmoutier were appointed lieutenant-generals. All took an oath of loyalty to the Parlement, and banners were distributed to them bearing the device: "*Regem nostrum quærimus*" (We seek our King).

It was a singular group of men to whom the Parisians had chosen to confide their destinies: the Duc d'Elbeuf, "a ruined and rapacious Lorrainer, who for ten years," remarks Henri Martin, "had studied the art of war under the banners of the enemies of France;" the feeble, hunchbacked Conti, whom Retz, in his malicious language, describes as "a zero, who only multiplied because he was a Prince of the Blood;" the brave, foolish, hot-headed Beaufort, whose proudest boast was that he had formerly presided over the conferences of a few conspirators as incapable as himself; the Duc de Longueville, that unworthy descendant of the famous Dunois, who hoped to become by decree of the Parlement a "*demi-légitime*," and who had already taken part in four or five civil wars, without becoming less timorous or less irresolute;

* According to Olivier d'Ormesson, he expressed his regret that he had not more blood in his body, that he might shed the last drop in defence of the liberties of the people.

La Rochefoucauld, whom some historians have credited with making war "to merit the heart and please the *beaux yeux* of Madame de Longueville," but who, as we have seen, was actuated by even less worthy motives; the Maréchal de la Mothe-Houdancourt, eager to avenge the four years' imprisonment which had been the punishment of the incapacity he had displayed in Catalonia; and, finally, the Duc de Bouillon, the true type of the feudal noble, whose idea of patriotism was the aggrandizement of his house, and who, in return for the restoration of his principality of Sedan, torn from him by Richelieu, would have cheerfully delivered the whole of France to Spain.

With the possible exception of Bouillon, who had inherited some of the ability of the La Tours, there was not one man among them who possessed any real capacity, either in politics or war: not one who had joined the movement from any disinterested motive, or would have entertained the smallest compunction about deserting his allies, if it were made worth his while.

The appointments bestowed upon these high-born rebels, however, scarcely harmonized with the democratic spirit which had originated the Fronde; and a considerable section of the populace saw with suspicion all the forces of Paris under the control of the brother of the man who commanded the besiegers. Believing very little, and with good reason, in the patriotism of these princes and nobles, they demanded some guarantee from the men who, they feared, might at any time betray them and make their peace with the Court. It was now that Retz conceived a brilliant idea, in order to appease the people, without whose confidence and support nothing could be effected. Hastening to Madame de Longueville, he suggested that she should remove to the Hôtel de Ville, and place herself and her children in the hands of the citizens, as hostages for the fidelity of her husband and brother, and persuade the Duchesse de Bouillon to do likewise. The princess, who, if the intoxication of love and ambition had caused her to forget her true duties, still retained all the energy and courage of her race, notwithstanding the delicate condition in which she then was, readily promised to do as he advised; and, having obtained the permission of their respective husbands, she and the Duchesse de Bouillon drove with their children

that same day to the Hôtel de Ville, amid transports of enthusiasm. "Only conceive," writes Retz, "these two ladies upon the steps of the Hôtel de Ville, all the more beautiful, because they appeared carelessly dressed, though they were not. Each held in her arms one of her children; and each child was no less beautiful than its mother. The Grève was full, even to the roofs. All the men were shouting with joy; while the women shed tears of emotion."*

The presence among them of Madame de Longueville reassured the Parisians; and sealed, so to speak, the union of the noblesse and the Fronde. All the leaders of the insurrection—nobles, magistrates, and citizens—came to the Hôtel de Ville to pay their court to her; she took part in all their deliberations, and nothing of importance was decided upon without her knowledge and approval. The fair supporters of the Fronde made it their rendezvous as well; and the sight of mail-clad warriors mingling with fashionably-dressed ladies deprived the revolt of all seriousness, and gave to it an air that savoured strongly of the burlesque. Retz relates how, on one occasion, he found in Madame de Longueville's apartment, the Marquis de Noirmoutier and three other officers in armour, who had just returned in safety from a skirmish with the royal troops—or the "Mazarins," as the Fronde preferred to call them—receiving the felicitations of a crowd of admiring ladies. "The mixture of blue scarfs, ladies, cuirasses, fiddlers in the hall, the roll of the drums and the sound of the trumpets in the *place* outside, presented a spectacle which is seldom met with except in romances. Noirmoutier, who was a great admirer of *l'Astrée*, said to me: 'I can only imagine that we are besieged in Marselli.' 'Well, you may,' I replied; 'Madame de Longueville is as beautiful as Galathée, but Marsillac (La Rochefoucauld) is not so worthy a man as Lindamor.' I fancy I must have been overheard by some one in a neighbouring window, who might have told M. de la Rochefoucauld, for I have never been able to divine any other primary cause for the hatred which he subsequently bore me."†

* *Mémoires.*

† The primary cause of La Rochefoucauld's antipathy to Retz seems to have been the latter's endeavours to supplant the author of the *Maximes* in the affections of Madame de Longueville.

To complete the picture, on the night of January 28, 1649, Madame de Longueville gave birth to her fourth and last child—a son—whom the evil-minded declared, and with too much reason, to be of uncertain paternity. The following morning, the princess sent for the Provost of the Merchants, and begged him to act as godfather to the boy; while the Duchesse de Bouillon undertook the office of godmother. The worthy magistrate wished the event to be celebrated with as much solemnity as possible; and accordingly a procession was formed, composed of the sheriffs, the counsellors, and other civic officials, all arrayed in their robes of office, in which, to the sound of drums and trumpets, the child was carried to the Church of Saint-Jean, where Retz and the curé of the parish were waiting to perform the ceremony. The boy was baptized Charles Paris, "on account of the place in which he was born, in conformity with the custom observed from all time in bestowing on children names suitable to the circumstances and to the accidents of their birth, in order to preserve the memory of them to posterity."* The ceremony concluded, the Comte de Saint-Paul, as he was henceforth styled, was taken by the Marquis de Noirmoutier back to his mother, who sent him in charge of his nurses to the Hôtel de Condé, to the great disappointment of the city fathers, "who testified their regret at not having been allowed time to invest this event with all the magnificence which was its due." This child of the Fronde, who inherited both the good qualities and the defects of the Condés, was destined to prove a source of pride and mortification to his mother, and to be the cause of her greatest grief, when, in 1672, he fell at the Passage of the Rhine, fighting by the side of his famous uncle, on the very eve of being offered the crown of Poland.

The Duc de Longueville learned of the birth of his son in Normandy, whither he had set out some days previously, with the object of inciting that great province to insurrection. His departure had been preceded by a letter to the Parlement of Rouen, in which he sought to justify his conduct, on the ground that he had found that there was no place for men of moderate views in the King's Council, and that only those who advocated extreme measures were listened to; for which reason, he felt it

* Bourgoing de Villefore, *la Véritable Vie d'Anne-Geneviève de Bourbon, Duchesse de Longueville.*

incumbent upon him to support the Parlement of Paris, "in order to seek the most suitable means of re-establishing public tranquillity." He assured them that it was his intention "to render to the King and Queen all honour, respect, and fidelity, and to employ, for the preservation of the royal authority and of the State, all his care, and his labour, and, if need be, his blood and his life;" and he concluded by urging them to follow the example of the capital, and "enjoy the happiness of exalting and strengthening the authority of their young King, and restoring peace and tranquillity to the realm."

The Parlement of Rouen responded to this ingenious appeal by resolving upon union with the Fronde of Paris. The city shut its gates against the Comte d'Harcourt, who had been sent by the Court to replace the rebellious Longueville as Governor of Normandy; and the greater part of the province was soon in revolt. The example of Normandy was followed by several other provinces, and the insurrection began to assume formidable dimensions.

Active hostilities, however, were confined to the neighbourhood of Paris, and even there were carried on in a somewhat desultory manner. Disappointed in their hopes of terrifying the citizens into submission, the Government proceeded to carry out their plan of cutting off supplies; but the forces at their disposal were insufficient to completely invest the place, and, though some roads were effectually closed, others remained open. Occasional skirmishes took place, but they were for the most part of little importance. On January 23, the "generals" of the Parlement, yielding to the murmurs of the mob, ordered a sortie, and a considerable force left the city, and took the road to Fontainebleau. The royal troops advanced to meet them, and, by a skilful manœuvre, nearly succeeded in getting between them and Paris; whereupon, terrified lest their retreat should be cut off, the Frondeurs, after firing a few shots, fell back towards Vitry, where they were disbanded. "We saw the citizens who had marched out the previous evening, to the number of six thousand, return in little troops. They found the roads in a horrible condition, and most of them were worn out. At Juvisy they found no bread, but wine, on which several hundreds got drunk, fell asleep in the ditches, and lost their weapons."*

* Dubuisson, *Journal*, cited by the Duc d'Aumale.

A week later, there was another sortie, with the object of capturing a position held by the Royalists at Bourg-la-Reine, and opening the road from Orléans to a large convoy which was coming from Beauce. Condé, however, had foreseen this movement, and drove the assailants back in confusion. This was the day of "the First of Corinthians," when the gallant cavaliers enrolled under the banner of the Archbishop of Corinth fled *vente-à-terre* without striking a blow.

A more serious affair took place, on February 8, at Charenton, the only place of importance in the outskirts of Paris occupied by the troops of the Parlement. It was held by a force mainly composed of soldiers who had deserted from the regular army, under the command of Bertrand de Clanlau, a brave and able officer, who had seen considerable service and attained the rank of lieutenant-general, but who had been disgraced for some act of misconduct in Flanders. Twenty thousand men were reviewed in the Place-Royale by the "generals" of Paris, and marched forth, with drums beating and colours flying, to the succour of Charenton. But no sooner did these valiant warriors perceive the royal troops preparing to dispute their advance, and learn that *Monsieur le Prince* himself commanded them, than they beat a precipitate retreat, leaving the defence of the place to Clanlau and his band of deserters. After an obstinate conflict, the entrenchments were carried, and the defenders, who had refused either to give or receive quarter, slaughtered almost to a man. They sold their lives dearly, however; and the ill-fated Maurice de Coligny's younger brother, the Duc de Châtillon,* to whom the attack had been entrusted, fell mortally wounded, and expired the following day at Vincennes, whither he had been carried.

Châtillon was the most experienced of the young lieutenants of Condé, and was on the point of receiving a marshal's bâton. The prince was sincerely attached to him, and, though ordinarily but little moved by such fatalities, shed on this occasion tears of genuine emotion. The widowed duchess, the beautiful Isabelle de Montmorency-Boutteville, received the news with comparative indifference, but, according to Madame de Motteville, "counterfeited grief, after the manner of ladies who love themselves too well to care for any one else." She had

* See p. 47, *supra.*

not, indeed, waited for the death of her husband to establish tender relations with the fascinating Duc de Nemours, and was already aspiring to resume over the heart of Condé the empire which she had for a brief while exercised in former years. It must be acknowledged, however, that the lady had some excuse for her conduct, as the deceased duke had been far from a faithful husband, and had gone into his last fight with a garter of his lady-love, Mlle. de Guerchy, bound round his arm.* With his death, the male line of the illustrious Admiral became extinct.

The fall of Charenton created considerable consternation in Paris, as that village had been one of the few remaining places of supply. The citizens accused the "generals" of treachery—they had certainly displayed the grossest incapacity—the price of bread, which had hitherto been comparatively low, rose, and a famine was feared. However, the Royalists were not in sufficient force to retain what they had captured, and convoys continued to reach the city in safety. On one occasion, a convoy which was being escorted by a troop of cavalry under the command of Beaufort was attacked, while passing through the village of Vitry, by the Royalists, who, however, were beaten off, and their leader killed. This affair was hailed by the Parisians as "a signal victory, which ought to be ascribed entirely to the valour of the duke;" and, when that theatrical personage returned to the city, he was escorted in triumph to the Hôtel de Ville, amid the acclamations of an immense concourse of people.†

La Rochefoucauld was less fortunate than Beaufort. In a skirmish on February 19, his horse was killed under him, and he himself received a somewhat severe wound, which prevented him from taking any further part in the war. No doubt, however, the attentions of Madame de Longueville went far towards consoling him for his enforced inaction.

If the war was carried on in half-hearted fashion with sword and musket, it was waged with extraordinary activity with pen and pencil. A constant stream of pamphlets and brochures, in both prose and verse, called *Mazarinades*, poured from the printing-presses of the capital, holding up the detested Cardinal to ridicule and odium; while

* Mlle. de Montpensier, *Mémoires.* † La Rochefoucauld, *Mémoires.*

satirical prints and caricatures abounded. One engraving, entitled "*Le salut dans les armes de Paris*," represented a ship, covered with *fleurs-de-lys*, sailing on the open sea. On board were the principal chiefs of the Fronde. In the sea, on one side of the vessel, were Mazarin and the farmers of the taxes, endeavouring to overturn it by contrary winds. On the other, was the Maréchal d'Ancre, recognisable by the uplifted anchor with which he was about to harpoon the ship.

The Court replied with caricatures representing "Captain Picard composing a company by himself"—evidently intended as a satire on the fraudulent officers who reported and drew pay for fifty men when they had not over a dozen under their command—Beaufort, covered with a cock's feathers; and the bourgeois Monsieur On, with immense ears, posing at his counter as a statesman. In one pasquinade, a colonel of the Paris militia, who had taken for his motto the device of the League: "One God, one faith, one king, one law," is made to exclaim: "We have given orders to our soldiers to wear boot-tops, lest the blood of those whom we shall slay (which will flow in rivulets) should get into their shoes."*

Notwithstanding that supplies continued to reach the city, and that, on the whole, good order was maintained, the strain of war was beginning to be felt. To supply the needs of the troops, the Parlement was compelled to impose fresh taxes, a step which was strongly resented by the citizens. Many refused to pay them; and, from fear of the disturbances which might follow, the authorities did not dare to have recourse to forcible methods of obtaining payment, and preferred to supply the deficiency by ordering the confiscation of the property of Mazarin and his partisans. The Cardinal's furniture was accordingly seized and sold, and an inventory made of the contents of his great library, though, for the present, it was spared.

On the other hand, Mazarin and the Queen were now compelled to recognise that their *coup d'état* had failed, and that the task of reducing a great city to submission by starvation bade fair to prove an extremely difficult, if not an impossible one. Moreover, the spirit of revolt

* A. Feillet, *la Misère du Temps de la Fronde*. Mr. J. B. Perkins, "France under Mazarin."

in Normandy and several of the Southern provinces was increasing; and two events which now followed closely upon one another convinced them that this "war of chamber-pots and cabbages," as *Monsieur le Prince* contemptuously styled it, might, ere long, develop into a very serious business indeed.

On February 19, the Prince de Conti informed the Parlement that an envoy from the Archduke Leopold, the Governor of the Netherlands, requested an audience. Negotiations with the Archduke had been opened by Elbeuf and the coadjutor, with the warm approval of Madame de Longueville, who had experienced little difficulty in persuading Conti to associate himself with them. The Spaniards were, of course, only too ready to assist in fomenting troubles which promised to save them from the necessity of an inglorious peace, and offered the Frondeurs both men and money. The "generals," however, felt that to enter into a treaty with the open enemies of France would be too perilous a step, unless the Parlement would consent to make itself a party to it; and before, therefore, accepting the offers of the Archduke, determined to secure the approval of the magistrates. Retz, it appears, had already sounded some of the judges on the subject of a Spanish alliance, and with unfavourable results; but it required much to discourage that indefatigable intriguer, and he determined to carry the matter through.

The judges, who, only a few days before, had refused to receive the herald of the King, on the ground that heralds could only pass between equals and enemies, and that the sending of the official in question was a cunning device of Mazarin to lead the Parlement to acknowledge itself the enemy of its sovereign, were much alarmed by Conti's announcement; and the Président de Mesmes inquired if it were possible that a Prince of the Blood could ask a reception upon the *fleurs-de-lys* for the representative of the most cruel enemy of the *fleurs-de-lys*. After a somewhat stormy debate, however, a resolution was carried for the reception of the envoy, who was accordingly ushered into the chamber. He was dressed in the uniform of an officer, and announced as Don José de Illescas, but was, as a matter of fact, "a Bernardine monk disguised as a gentleman." Nor was he a regularly accredited envoy, as he claimed to be, but carried only blank papers

bearing his master's signature, which Retz and Bouillon had undertaken to fill up. The proposals made by the envoy were, briefly: that the Parlement should interpose for the conclusion of a general peace on reasonable terms, that is to say, on terms far more favourable than Spain could otherwise have dared to hope for; and that, in the meantime, the Archduke should place at its disposal an army of 18,000 men.

Much to the chagrin of the noble Frondeurs, these offers were listened to with unconcealed apprehension by the more moderate members of the Parlement, many of whom held that they had already gone too far in opposition to the royal authority, and were anxious for a reconciliation with the Court, if such could be secured without prejudice to their interests. Even the younger and more impetuous magistrates, upon whose support Retz could usually count, were disinclined to embark upon so dangerous a course of action, except as a last resource; and it was finally resolved that the proposals of the Archduke should be reported to Saint-Germain for the Regent's consideration, and that, until her pleasure was known, no answer should be returned. To a deputation, at the head of which were Molé and de Mesmes, was entrusted the duty of bearing the decree of the Parlement to the Queen.

The consternation at Saint-Germain at the news of the visit of the Spanish envoy was profound. "Things have reached such a pass," writes Condé to Girard, "that my brother has sent Bréquigny to Brussels to negotiate with the Archduke." "And as if, foreseeing the future," remarks the Duc d'Aumale, "he wishes to pronounce his own condemnation, he adds: 'This event has touched me extraordinarily, by the greatness of the evil of having dared to treat with the enemies of Spain at a time of open war.'" *

Hard upon this intelligence, came another incident, of a still more alarming nature for the Court. Turenne, who had made for himself a military reputation second only to Condé himself, and commanded the French army of Germany, the veterans of almost a dozen years of warfare, formally declared himself for the Fronde and announced his intention of leading his troops to Paris.

* Letter of March 12, 1649, published by the Duc d'Aumale, *Histoire des Princes de Condé*.

Turenne had been overwhelmed with favours by the Regent and Mazarin, and his defection has never been satisfactorily explained, for, when questioned upon the matter in later years, he invariably returned evasive answers. Perhaps, he was actuated by sympathy for his brother, the Duc de Bouillon, and by the family ambition for the recovery of Sedan. Perhaps, as the Duc d'Aumale suggests, he was instigated by Madame de Longueville, who had cast her spell over him during their meeting on the Rhine in 1646, and had taken care that it should not be broken. Whatever the cause may have been, his intention of marching on Paris, if carried out, must have involved the immediate raising of the blockade.

The Council issued a decree declaring Turenne guilty of high treason, which was promptly annulled by the Parlement; but Mazarin and Condé took more effectual measures to meet the impending blow. Turenne's army was chiefly composed of German mercenaries, the descendants of the dreaded *reiters*, who had ravaged France during the Wars of Religion. They were devoted to their leader, but kept a very keen eye on the financial side of their profession. Their pay, as usual, was greatly in arrears, for the Treasury was empty; and they looked to the Parlement to reward their efforts on its behalf. Turenne made them magnificent offers in the name of that body; while the Cardinal and Condé wrote to the officers, imploring them to remain faithful to the cause which they had so long served. The latter intimated that they might be disposed to do so, were it made worth their while. Hervart, a banker of Strasburg, offered to find the money required, if security were forthcoming; but the Government had none to offer. It was then that Condé made a patriotic sacrifice, of which little mention has been made by history. He sent the greater part of his jewels to Strasburg, and immediately the situation of affairs underwent a startling change. The officers were bribed; the soldiers' arrears were paid; and the greater part of the army promptly deserted their leader, who, finding himself abandoned by his troops, retired, with a handful of his followers, to Heilbronn and thence to Holland.

On March 4, negotiations between the Parlement and the Court had been opened at Rueil. The deputies of the Parlement had refused to confer with Mazarin, as

a man condemned to exile; and the Cardinal once more consented to remain behind the scenes, though of course he treated with his enemies just as effectually as if he had been seated at the same table. The terms proposed by the opposite parties differed so widely that at first little progress was made; for the Court was anxious to prevent the Parlement from deliberating in future on political questions, and that the insurgents should formally demand pardon of the King; while the Parlement desired a complete indemnity for all and the exclusion of Mazarin from the Ministry.

While these negotiations were proceeding, the "generals" were deliberating, in the apartment of Madame de Longueville, as to the course to be pursued in regard to Spain. Recognising the hopelessness of inducing the Parlement to commit itself to their policy, they decided to act independently; and despatched the Marquis de Noirmoutier, as their agent, to the Netherlands, where he signed a treaty with the Archduke, who immediately prepared to invade Champagne.

This intelligence, which reached Rueil on March 10, made both parties anxious to come to terms. If we are to believe Retz, Mazarin and the Président de Mesmes had a secret conference that same night, when the latter magnanimously offered at any cost "to sign a peace to save the State." Anyway, next morning a peace was signed, which left matters very much as they had been before hostilities began. A general amnesty was granted; the decrees of both Council and Parlement since the beginning of the insurrection were alike annulled; confiscated property was restored, and prisoners set at liberty; the Spanish envoy expelled; while the King confirmed the Declaration of October, but, on the other hand, interdicted any general assembly of the chambers during that year, save for the discussion of matters affecting their own procedure and internal regulations. The Treaty said nothing in regard to the malcontent nobles, "for the very simple reason that there was among them no general cause to be satisfied, and that private interests alone demanded attention."*

This treaty, signed on March 12, was not ratified by the Parlement until a month later, and after several alterations had been made in its original terms. In

* Victor Cousin, *la Jeunesse de Madame de Longueville.*

the interval, the Palais de Justice was the theatre of stormy debates and wild disorder. On the 13th, the deputies returned to Paris and presented the Treaty to the Parlement. The "generals," furious that no provision had been made for their interests, resolved to use every endeavour to prevent the Parlement from accepting the articles of peace, and now put up Conti to complain that the conditions had been framed without their being consulted. Molé replied by reproaching the prince with treating with the enemies of France, and plotting "to give the kingdom a prey to foreign Powers." Conti rejoined that he had not taken this step without the consent of some members of the Parlement. "Name them!" cried the old president; "name them, and we will proceed against them as criminals guilty of treason!" And the applause which greeted these words showed how little justification there was for Conti's assertion.

Meanwhile, an infuriated mob, incited by the "generals," had surrounded the palace and filled the great hall, shouting: "No peace! No Mazarin!" and demanding that "*la grande barbe*," as they designated Molé, should be given up to them. So threatening was the attitude of the populace, that, when the assembly adjourned, the First President was advised to go out through the Record Office, by which he could gain his house without being seen. But Molé, "who had displayed the most extraordinary intrepidity,"* declined to avail himself of this means of escape. "This Court never hides itself," said he; "they would seek me at home, if they thought I feared them here." And, escorted by Retz and Beaufort, whom the old man's courage had shamed into according him their protection, he went out by the grand staircase, and passed unmolested through the crowd.

Deliberations on the Treaty were renewed on the 15th; the article which forbade the sessions of the Parlement being attacked by Broussel; while Retz complained that the Treaty had failed to deliver the public from the man who had been declared the enemy of the State; and the "generals" desired that their interests should be safeguarded. After a lengthy discussion, it was decided that the deputies should return to Saint-Germain, in order to obtain the revocation of the articles objected to, and to treat of the interests of the "generals." But the latter

* Retz.

failed in their efforts to induce the Parlement to make their claims an essential condition of peace.*

In accordance with this resolution, the deputies, on March 16, returned to Rueil, and, on the 17th, proceeded to Saint-Germain. The "generals" had each submitted separate statements of their demands: and several of them, apprehensive of the goodwill of the deputies, conducted private negotiations on their own behalf. To their intense mortification, Molé maliciously caused these demands to be made public, and the true character of the men whose profession of disinterestedness had so long deluded them was thus revealed to the citizens.

No more striking example, indeed, of the selfishness and rapacity of the old French nobility can be found in history than the list of honours and emoluments demanded by these high-born insurgents in return for consenting to lay down their arms. Even those of inferior rank appeared to imagine themselves entitled to rewards which would have been large if demanded by a Prince of the Blood. Conti asked for a seat in the Council, although he was still a mere boy, and the command of a fortress in his government of Champagne, with the idea of converting that province into a sort of independent principality. He also, at Madame de Longueville's instigation, warmly supported the demands of La Rochefoucauld, which included the reversion of his father's government of Poitou, the command of the Fusiliers, with a salary of 18,000 livres, and a *tabouret* for his wife; and desired that the Marquis de Noirmoutier, who was at that moment actually with the Spanish army, should be recompensed for his treason by being created a duke! Longueville wanted the government of the Pont-de-l'Arche, with reversion to his children. The Duc de la Trémouille, in return for having incited three provinces to revolt, asked for the rank of prince, two counties, a barony, and a seigneurie. Bouillon wanted 9,000,000 livres, as compensation for the loss of Sedan, and the re-establishment of his brother Turenne in all his offices and dignities, plus the governments of Alsace and Philippsburg; the Comte de Maure,

* The Parlement, and the majority of respectable citizens, had now become extremely suspicious, not only of the motives, but even of the honesty of the "generals." Gui Patin, in a letter of March 15, 1649, accuses them of having pocketed a considerable portion of the money raised for the payment of the troops under their command, with which they had "paid their debts and purchased silver plate."

the victim of countless epigrams, the *cordon bleu*, the lieutenancy of the King in The Three Bishoprics, and the annulling of the sentence in virtue of which his uncle, the Maréchal de Maurillac, had been executed for peculation, in 1632 ; * Elbeuf, the payment of large sums which he asserted were due to himself and his wife ; Beaufort, the Admiralty and the government of Brittany ; and so forth.

In order to preserve their dignity in some degree, the "generals" announced that, if the Queen would consent to the dismissal of Mazarin, who was the source of all the evils which afflicted the realm, they, on their side, would be prepared to abandon their claims. But this offer, as they had of course foreseen, was rejected with indignation. The demand of the Parlement for the modification of the Treaty, coupled with the claims of the "generals," prolonged the negotiations for nearly a fortnight. But the situation was critical. The Archduke had already entered France and advanced as far as Pontavert on the Aisne, which had surrendered to him ; and it was imperative to terminate the civil war as speedily as possible, in order to oppose the invader whom Retz and his friends had called to their aid. On March 30, the Government yielded on the question of the assembling of the Chambers for the discussion of political questions during the remainder of that year, and on some minor points ; and the deputies, satisfied with these concessions, returned to Paris, and on the following day presented the treaty to the Parlement for ratification. The "generals," who had received an abundance of fair words, but little else, endeavoured to intimidate the judges by stirring up the mob, and the streets were filled with men crying : "No peace ! No Mazarin !" Molé, however, took energetic measures to guard against any recurrence of the tumult of March 13, and, as early as four o'clock in the morning, the court of the Palais de Justice was occupied by several companies of the citizen militia. Under their protection, the Parlement sat undisturbed, and, in spite of the protests of the "generals," the articles of peace were duly registered, and the first act of the Fronde was at end.

* "Peculation !" exclaimed the maréchal, when his sentence was communicated to him ; "a man of my quality condemned to death for peculation ! I have been tried for hay and straw. There was not enough to clog a lackey !"

The Prince de Conti was the first of the rebel leaders who went to Saint-Germain to salute the Queen. He was presented by Condé, who made him embrace Mazarin, after which the late generalissimo of the Fronde presented the Duc de Bouillon, La Rochefoucauld, and several others. A few days later, the Duc de Longueville arrived from Normandy, with a numerous suite. Every one gathered round the Queen to hear what he would say: but the duke was so much embarrassed, that the gift of speech seemed entirely to have deserted him. He kissed her Majesty's hand, turned very pale, then very red, and finally bowed himself away, without uttering a syllable.

After her husband's visit to Saint-Germain, Madame de Longueville felt that she could no longer delay making her own submission. But she did it in the haughtiest manner possible, appointing her own time, as if she had been a foreign sovereign, and even having the presumption to keep the Queen waiting: all of which did not fail to strengthen the aversion which Anne of Austria had now conceived for her. We will allow Madame de Motteville, who was present at the interview, to relate the scene in her own words:

"Madame de Longueville and her step-daughter, Mlle. de Longueville, also appeared at Court. The latter had been, like the rest, a great Frondeuse, but she was virtuous and very intelligent, and was pardoned for having embraced her father's sentiments. When these princesses arrived, the Queen was in bed, resting after her fatigues. I had the honour of being alone with her, and at the moment she was speaking to me of the embarrassment which the Duc de Longueville had shown in saluting her. Learning that Madame de Longueville was about to enter, I rose—for I was on my knees by the bed—and placed myself beside the Queen, resolved not to leave, but to ascertain whether the princess, always so witty, would be more eloquent than the prince, her husband. As she was naturally timid, with a tendency to blush, all her skill could not save her from embarrassment when she approached the Queen. I was sufficiently near these two illustrious persons to hear what they said; but I heard nothing except 'Madame,' and a few words uttered in so low a tone that the Queen, who was listening attentively, could not comprehend them. Mlle. de Longueville, after her step-mother had made her obeisance, con-

tented herself with kissing the Queen's sheet, without opening her lips. They then seated themselves on the chairs which were brought to them, and seemed very glad when I began the conversation, by inquiring of Madame de Longueville at what hour she had left Paris—since it was not then two o'clock in the afternoon—and, to relieve their evident embarrassment, I enlarged upon this rapid journey. This conversation, in which matters of no importance alone were mentioned, and the fact that the whole visit was marked by extreme formality, served but to increase the Queen's resentment against the princess, who, inasmuch as she made no effort to please her, only displeased her. It, moreover, confirmed Madame de Longueville in the evil intentions she cherished in her heart against the Queen. Because, where ill-will exists, and those who dislike each other fail to come to an understanding on the matters they have mutually to complain of, silence increases enmity and prevents it ever coming to an end."

CHAPTER XIII

MADAME DE LONGUEVILLE, CONDÉ AND MAZARIN

THE reconciliation between the rival parties was followed by a reconciliation in the House of Condé. The princess-dowager, who had deeply deplored the division in her family, employed all her influence to re-establish harmony between her children, and with complete success. Condé despised rather than disliked his brother (one day, at Saint-Germain, he is said to have dressed up a hunchback in a general's uniform and presented him to the Queen, with the remark: "Behold, Madame, the generalissimo of the Fronde!"); while, in spite of recent events, he still retained for his beautiful and talented sister much of his former affectionate admiration. The meeting between *Monsieur le Prince* and his relatives took place at Chaillot, where embraces and complimentary speeches were exchanged, and it was unanimously agreed to forgive and forget.

Far better would it have been for the House of Condé and for France had the division between its members remained unhealed, for no sooner did Madame de Longueville find herself again on terms of friendship and confidence

with her elder brother, than she resumed her efforts to draw him from his alliance with Mazarin. "She made him understand," says Madame de Motteville, "that he had done wrong in separating himself from his family, who would be useful to his interests. He perceived that the Prince de Conti was obtaining great advantages at Court, and he recognised that Madame de Longueville, who had guided the latter to this result, was worth listening to, and could be of use to him in many ways. In a word, he was pleased and captivated by the flattering illusions of the princess; and blood, added to policy, bound him by fresh ties."

The good understanding between *Monsieur le Prince* and the Cardinal had been merely of a temporary nature, called into being by the danger to which the royal authority had found itself exposed; and it did not long survive the restoration of order. Condé, indeed, declared publicly that he had upheld Mazarin because he had pledged his word to do so, but that, if matters took a different course, he should consider himself at perfect liberty to withdraw his protection from the Minister. His natural pride and arrogance had been enormously increased by the events of the last few months, and he had begun to consider his support absolutely indispensable to the Crown. It may have been so in a military sense, but certainly not in a political one. His high rank and great territorial influence must always command a large following among the nobility, both at the Court and in the provinces; but he had none of the consummate tact, none of the winning personality, of a Henri de Guise; and, in spite of the glamour of his victories, he aroused no popular enthusiasm. In Paris, he was disliked by the Parlement, for the haughty and contemptuous manner in which he had so often treated it, and detested by the people, both as the protector of Mazarin and on account of the cruelties which the royal troops had perpetrated during the siege upon the Frondeurs and the defenceless peasantry. On the first occasion on which he visited the capital after the conclusion of peace, this hostility manifested itself in an unmistakable manner, in the angry cries which followed his coach as it passed through the streets.

Nevertheless, he was a powerful ally and a dangerous enemy; and the Regent and her Minister were willing to go to great lengths to secure a continuance of the

support. But no ordinary favours or concessions were likely to satisfy a man who regarded himself as the saviour of the Crown, and believed that he held its fate in the hollow of his hand ; while his jealous and suspicious mind, skilfully played upon by his sister, seemed to see in every action of Mazarin a carefully calculated move to strengthen the Cardinal's position or to diminish his own prestige. Thus, he excused himself from accepting the command of the army in Flanders, ostensibly on the ground that he could not approve of the object of the campaign, which was the reduction of Cambrai, but really because he believed that, whatever might be the result, Mazarin would be the gainer ; that, whereas success would strengthen the hands of the Minister rather than add to the laurels of the general, failure might seriously prejudice the latter's reputation.* Accordingly, the command was entrusted to the Comte d'Harcourt, who failed completely before Cambrai ; and Condé, apparently on the advice of Madame de Longueville, retired into his government of Burgundy, to await with impatience the hour when the Government should again require his services, promising himself that they should be sold at a high price.

That hour was not long in arriving. The "*Paix Mazarine*" had satisfied the Parlement, which had resumed its long-neglected judicial functions ; but the people were still discontented, and a section of the nobility, headed by Retz, Beaufort, Madame de Longueville, and Conti, seemed to have settled down into definite opposition to the Government, and lost no opportunity of fomenting the popular unrest. The more adventurous spirits among them made no secret of their hostility to Mazarin. They swaggered about the streets, with the badge of the Fronde, a sling of cord, on their hats ; they called themselves "masters of the pavement ;" chastised the royal lackeys when they happened to meet them, bidding them carry their complaints to the Queen and the Cardinal ; and quarrelled and fought with the nobles of the Court party on the terrace at Renard's. The

* This is the view taken by the prince's eulogistic biographer, Earl Stanhope ("Life of Louis of Bourbon, Prince of Condé"). The Duc d'Aumale, on the other hand, also a warm admirer of *Monsieur le Prince*, seems to be of opinion that Condé was justified in declining the command, or, as he prefers to put it, "asking not to be entrusted with it," in view of the total failure of the Government to support him during the Flemish campaign of 1648, of which we have spoken elsewhere.

needy scribes in the pay of the coadjutor, who tells us that he "almost made of his house an academy," continued to pour forth *Mazarinades*, which attacked the Minister and Anne with more indecency than ever. The Parlement forbade the printers to print or sell them, and one Claude Morlot, who had published a particularly gross libel upon the Regent (*le custode du lit de la Reine, qui dit tout*), was condemned to death. But, when he was taken to the Place de Grève, the mob, with shouts of "Down with the Mazarins!" attacked the officers, demolished the scaffold, and rescued the prisoner. Clearly it was time that the Court returned to Paris, from which its continued absence was one of the chief sources of irritation.

The Regent and Mazarin, however, both felt that it was essential that *Monsieur le Prince* should accompany them, lest the malcontents should derive encouragement from the belief that all was not as it should be between the Government and its protector. Accordingly, the Cardinal wrote urging Condé to return; and on July 22 the latter arrived in Paris, on his way to join the Court at Compiègne.

During his absence, Madame de Longueville had been at work upon her mother, and had contrived to gain *Madame la Princesse* completely over to her views. The latter had not, in consequence, visited the Court since the peace, and spoke of her old friend the Queen as if she were now quite indifferent to her. Encouraged by this success, the Frondeuse princess redoubled her efforts to win Condé, "telling him that he would some day be glad to follow her counsels, and would bitterly repent of the protection he had given Mazarin." At the same time, "in order to reconcile the populace to her brother, she spread abroad a report that he had become devout during his absence, and that a much-respected Carthusian monk had converted him."*

Mazarin, on his side, had not been idle. After the Peace of Rueil, Madame de Chevreuse, profiting by the general amnesty, had returned to France, not indisposed to exchange her rôle of an exiled intriguer for that of a friend of the Court. Mazarin, who entertained a high opinion of her talents, was only too ready to meet her half-way; and the lady, who had once been his deadly enemy, now became one of his most valued advisers. Her

* Motteville.

step-mother, Madame de Montbazon, was also gained over, by the promise of a substantial pension and the grant of a *tabouret* to her daughter ; * and the Cardinal proceeded to use the two duchesses for the furtherance of a scheme whereby he hoped to greatly strengthen his position.

This was to attach the Vendôme family to his interests, by giving the eldest of his nieces, Laure Mancini,† plus a dowry of 600,000 livres, to the Duc de Vendôme's eldest son, the Duc de Mercœur, and restoring the Admiralty to the father. By this means, he intended to disarm Beaufort, whose immense popularity with the Parisians rendered him an important factor in the political situation, notwithstanding his personal ineptitude. At the same time, he proposed that Beaufort should marry Marie d'Orléans, the Duc de Longueville's daughter by his first marriage, a match which, he believed, would be very acceptable to the "*Roi des Halles.*"

Vendôme, tired of opposition to the Court, which had brought him nothing but exile and imprisonment, was willing enough to accept the good things which an alliance with the Cardinal's family would ensure him ; while his son, an amiable and pious young man, the exact antithesis of his turbulent brother, appeared to be as favourably impressed by the charms of Mlle. Mancini as by the magnitude of her proposed dowry. Longueville, too, raised no objection to giving his daughter to Beaufort, and the lady herself was not opposed to the match : but, in spite of the efforts of his relatives and of Mesdames de Chevreuse and de Montbazon, Beaufort absolutely refused to compromise his popularity with the mob by a reconciliation with Mazarin, and, instead of yielding to their solicitations, attached himself more closely than ever to the irreconcilable Frondeurs.

Condé quitted Paris in August, and, after a brief visit to Chantilly, proceeded to Compiègne. If he had shown any ill-humour on his departure for Burgundy, there were no traces of it on his return to the Court. Immediately on his arrival, he sought out Mazarin, whom he greeted with every appearance of cordiality. He next

* Marie Eléonore de Rohan, afterwards abbess of the Couvent de Sainte-Trinité, at Caen, and later of Malnoue, in Brie.

† For an account of Laure Mancini and the other nieces of Mazarin, see Amédée Renée's *les Nièces de Mazarin* (Paris, 1858), and the author's "Five Fair Sisters" (London : Hutchinson ; New York : Putnams', 1906).

visited the Queen "and told her that he had become neither a Frondeur nor a saint, assuring her that he renounced entirely the sentiments of his family, which he frankly admitted were somewhat tainted."* He promised, however, to do all in his power to bring them to a better way of thinking, and pressed her to return to Paris, declaring that he would be personally answerable for Mazarin's safety, Anne's fears for which had been the chief cause of the prolonged absence of the Court.

One of Condé's most intimate friends, the Duc de Rohan-Chabot, assured Madame de Motteville at this time that the prince was perfectly sincere in his professions of friendship for the Court, and had not the least intention of allowing his sister to draw him into a rupture with Mazarin, although he was not unwilling that the Cardinal should suppose such a result possible, in order to intimidate him into granting his demands. But Rohan expressed his belief that Madame de Longueville would eventually succeed in persuading her brother to go a great deal further than the latter desired, "since there was nothing so easy as to find means of irritating a Prince of the Blood, who always wanted more than could be given him."

On August 18, their Majesties returned to their capital, after an absence of seven and a half months. They reached the Porte Saint-Denis at eight o'clock in the evening, and proceeded to the Palais-Royal, through streets ablaze with torches, everywhere greeted by the capricious populace with frenzied acclamations, which, as Retz justly remarks, signified nothing. Even Mazarin, who sat by Condé's side at the *portière* of the royal coach,† and might justifiably have felt some uneasiness in passing through the serried ranks of that mob which held him in such abhorrence, found himself received with no more hostile greeting than cries of "*Voilà Mazarin!*"

Their Majesties alighted at the Palais-Royal, where Retz and Beaufort waited upon them to offer their submission. The latter was received somewhat coldly by the Queen, who, however, confined herself to remarking that she desired to see his actions correspond to his words.

* Motteville.

† According to *Mademoiselle*, there were eight persons, including herself, in the royal coach, who, as it was an intensely hot day, found the journey a decidedly trying experience.

Before retiring, *Monsieur le Prince* saluted Anne of Austria, and addressed to her some words of felicitation. "Monsieur," replied the Queen, "the service which you have rendered the State is so great that the King and I should be ingrates if we ever forgot it."

As Condé left the room, a friend whispered in his ear: "This is a greatness of service which makes me tremble for you." Five months later, he was a prisoner at Vincennes.

A few days after the return of the Court, the municipality, wishing to testify its joy at the auspicious event, gave a magnificent ball to their Majesties at the Hôtel de Ville. The Queen had accepted the invitation, on condition that the ball should take place in the afternoon, probably owing to the fact that, in spite of the enthusiastic demonstrations which had greeted the entry of the Court, she was still somewhat distrustful of the goodwill of the citizens. But, according to one authority, because she believed daylight would be somewhat trying to certain ladies of the Fronde who were accustomed to summon art to the assistance of Nature.* Madame de Longueville, who had recently retired to Chantilly, "out of pique at seeing the King and Queen again in Paris," considered that this ball would furnish her with a good excuse for returning to the capital. But the Queen desired to give expression to her hostility to the duchess by not inviting her; and when *Madame la Princesse* asked for an invitation for her daughter, her Majesty replied coldly that "she feared to inconvenience her," for the lady's pretext for retiring to Chantilly had been that of ill-health. It was not, indeed, until Condé himself intervened that Anne yielded, remarking that "she was surprised that that important Madame de Longueville had made such great efforts to obtain so small a thing."†

On August 25, the King went in great pomp to celebrate the Festival of Saint-Louis at the Jesuit Church in the Rue Saint-Antoine. The royal procession, in which rode the Princes de Condé and de Conti and a number of the greatest nobles, mounted on magnificent horses covered with elaborate trappings of gold and silver embroidery, which reached to the ground, was welcomed

* Motteville.

† Bourgoing de Villefore, *la Véritable Vie d'Anne Geneviève de Bourbon, Duchesse de Longueville.*

all along the route with tumultuous demonstrations of joy. As for the Cardinal, the boatmen on the Seine gave a fête in his honour; his health was drunk in the same taverns in which his confusion had been so lately toasted, and, as he passed through the streets, he met with nothing but respectful salutations.

However, in the midst of these manifestations of public joy, the situation at Court had again become strained. Mazarin, always ready to promise more than he could perform, had given Condé reason to believe that the Government would purchase for him the county of Montbéliard, which belonged to the Duke of Würtemberg; but the negotiations had come to nothing, and the Cardinal's enemies did not fail to accuse him of perfidy.* The prince, moreover, saw with jealousy and uneasiness that Mazarin was inclining more and more towards the Vendômes, between whom and the House of Condé a bitter rivalry had existed ever since the beginning of the Regency; and he accordingly lent but too-willing an ear to the warnings of Madame de Longueville, who pointed out that the alliance projected between the Duc de Mercœur and Laure Mancini was a certain proof that Mazarin had ceased to regard *Monsieur le Prince* as his chief support, and that when the Duc de Vendôme had become, by this marriage, the connection of the Minister, he would be more considered than any one by the King and Queen. At the same time, she reminded him that her husband had not yet obtained the government of the Pont-de-l'Arche, promised him at the time of the Peace of Rueil; while, on the other hand, Vendôme was about to obtain the Admiralty, which he himself had demanded in vain on the death of his brother-in-law, the Duc de Brézé.†

To the exhortations of his sister, who was fully determined on the overthrow of Mazarin, unless the Minister were prepared to be content with the mere shadow of power and yield the substance to the House of Condé and its allies, was joined the flattery of a band of young nobles, the La Moussayes, the Bouttevilles, and the Tavannes, who imitated *Monsieur le Prince's* grandiose manners, styled him "The Master," and were them-

* A despatch of Lionne de Servien, dated July 26, 1649, which Chéruel cites (*Histoire de la France pendant la minorité de Louis XIV.*), proves, however, that Mazarin, on this occasion at least, had acted in perfectly good faith.

† See p. 124 *supra*.

selves dubbed by the people the "*petits-maîtres*" (little masters). These young men were constantly urging Condé to play an important part in the State —a rôle for which, it may be observed, he was not in the smallest degree fitted—and declaring their belief that the services he had rendered the Crown had been most inadequately recompensed. In short, a new Fronde was beginning—a Fronde of the princes and the "*petits-maîtres*"—which had not the excuse of the old Fronde, since its origin was merely the ambition and the rivalry of the great families of the realm, though it was sustained by the turbulent and intriguing section of the latter, which desired at all cost to break the peace and overthrow Mazarin.

The Cardinal, aware of the cabals that threatened him, pressed on the union of his niece with the Duc de Mercœur, which was to secure for him the powerful support of Vendôme, and, he hoped, the neutrality at least of Beaufort. All the preliminaries were satisfactorily arranged, and the celebration of the marriage was fixed for September 19, 1649. Condé, however, urged on by his sister, was now resolved to use every means in his power to prevent an alliance which would render Mazarin less dependent and Vendôme more powerful. On the 14th, he was at the Palais-Royal, when the Cardinal approached and asked him to sign the marriage-contract. The prince replied brusquely that he was not related to the parties, and that therefore his signature was not needed. He added that he, on his side, had several requests to make to the Minister, the first and most important of which was that he should fulfil the promise made to the Duc de Longueville of the government of the Pont-de-l'Arche. "That is one of those engagements which one enters into without any intention of keeping them," rejoined Mazarin laughing; and he reminded Condé that, during the negotiations at Rueil, it had been agreed that the Pont-de-l'Arche should be promised to Longueville, in order to hasten the peace, but that subsequently a pretext should be found for not conferring the post. It was certainly highly undesirable that the duke, whose power in Normandy already overshadowed that of the Crown, and who had so recently used it without scruple against his sovereign, should have an important fortress in that province placed in his hands. Nevertheless, however

impolitic such an engagement may have been, it was one of the conditions of the Peace of Rueil.

At this refusal, Condé, already very badly disposed towards the Cardinal, lost his temper altogether, reproached Mazarin bitterly with his broken faith, and, on taking his departure, saluted him with the ironical remark : " Adieu, Mars."

The Cardinal, much alarmed, lost no time in despatching his faithful henchman, Le Tellier, to the Hôtel de Condé, with conciliatory overtures ; but the prince bade him tell the Minister that he would never recognise him again, except at the Council, and that, instead of being the Cardinal's protector as heretofore, he could be henceforth counted as his bitterest enemy.

The rupture between *Monsieur le Prince* and the Minister was soon common knowledge ; and, on the morning of the 16th, the chiefs of the Fronde hastened to the Hôtel de Condé, eager to offer their services. Retz and the Président de Bellièvre urged the prince to enter with his friends into an alliance with them, to place himself at the head of their united parties, and to shake off the yoke of the foreign favourite, pointing out that such a coalition could not for one moment be withstood. Madame de Longueville and the Prince de Conti were strongly in favour of this step ; but Condé could not at once make up his mind to the proposed alliance, though he promised to give the matter careful consideration, and let them know his decision two days hence.

In the meanwhile, the Queen and Mazarin had sent Le Tellier to the Luxembourg, to beg the Abbé de la Rivière to secure the mediation of the Duc d'Orléans. That vacillating prince was, as usual in the case of imbroglios of this nature, in doubt as to which side to espouse. But the abbé represented to him that the undisputed ascendency of Condé and his relatives might be very prejudicial to his interests, which would be best preserved by maintaining the *status quo*. Orléans accordingly had an interview with Condé, pointed out the danger to the State of allowing a party to be formed of the factious and unruly spirits which surrounded him, and " conjured him to prefer the public peace to his own feelings." Condé relented so far as to place his interests in the duke's hands, and together they gave a commission to La Rivière to bring about a settlement.

The prospect of a reconciliation was, however, by no means welcome to Madame de Longueville and her younger brother, who, according to Madame de Motteville, "dreamed of becoming what Madame de Beaujeu and her husband had formerly been under Charles VIII., when they drove out the Duc d'Orléans and governed the State as they pleased for a long term of years." They had already, it appears, made overtures to La Rivière, with the object of gaining his patron over to their party, promising him a cardinal's hat, the object of all his desires, which Conti was to renounce in his favour; and they now went so far as to offer to establish him as Prime Minister, in place of Mazarin, if he would persuade Orléans to consent to the ruin of the man they desired to be rid of. The abbé, however, who, as we have seen, recognised the impossibility of harmonizing the interests of his patron with the ambition of the Condé family, and was, besides, somewhat sceptical as to whether these fine promises would ever be fulfilled, declined their proposals, sheltering himself behind "his zeal for the State."

Early on the morning of September 18, Retz and Noirmoutier came to the Hôtel de Condé, to learn the prince's decision in regard to the propositions the Frondeurs had made him two days before. To their mortification, he declared his inability to accept them, since he was convinced that the Queen was so attached to the Cardinal, that nothing but force could separate them; and he could not agree to another civil war. He then informed them that Mazarin had surrendered on the question of the Pont-de-l'Arche, in consideration of which he had consented to a reconciliation.

As a matter of fact, on the previous day, the Cardinal had yielded all along the line. The Pont-de-l'Arche was given to Longueville; the Queen promised to keep the Admiralty in her own hands; and the Mercœur-Mancini marriage was indefinitely postponed; while an additional sop was thrown to the prince, in the form of the right of disposal of a number of offices in the Royal Household, worth nearly a million livres.

The reconciliation was but little sincere. Lenet reports a conversation between Condé and Madame de Longueville, which took place later on the same day, and which very faithfully describes the situation:

"The prince, approaching, said to her, in a laughing

and jesting tone: 'Well, sister! "The Mazarin" and I are now become like two heads in one cap.' 'That is very fine,' replied the duchess, gravely; 'I pray God, brother, that you may not lose all your friends and all your reputation, which the Abbé de la Rivière and the Duc d'Orléans will not give you back, and still less the Cardinal and the Queen. But is it true,' she added, after a long pause, 'that "the Mazarin" sups with you this evening?' 'Yes, it is rather amusing,' rejoined he. '*Monsieur* [Gaston d'Orléans] has invited me to supper, and told me to bring the Cardinal and some gamblers, to pass away the time after supper.' 'That will be very pleasant,' replied the duchess, in a tone which showed the aversion which she felt towards this party. 'I cannot avoid it,' added the prince. And, turning to me, he said: 'Come there, I beg you, and you will see how I shall behave towards the Cardinal, and whether I have consented to his supping with me, except out of the complaisance that I owe *Monsieur*.'"*

The supper intended to cement this reconciliation was a sufficiently lugubrious affair to have satisfied even Madame de Longueville; particularly for Mazarin, whom Condé and his friends treated with a contempt which they were at small pains to conceal. "The prince," writes one of those present, "did not let fall a word which was not a kind of sneer at the expense of the Cardinal, whose melancholy air made us all perceive that he resented them keenly."†

The peace, as may be anticipated, was merely a momentary truce. A day or two later, negotiations between Condé and the Fronde were reopened, and it was arranged that the prince should present to the Parlement a request that the decree of 1617, which forbade, under the severest penalties, any foreigner holding office under the Crown, should be put into force against Mazarin. The Cardinal, recognising the hopelessness of contending against the united forces of Condé, Retz, Beaufort, and their followers, resolved to bow before the storm, and to make a surrender so absolute as to satisfy even *Monsieur le Prince* and his ambitious sister. Accordingly, having secured the consent of the Regent, he, on October 2, drew up and signed

* Lenet, *Mémoires*.

† Letter of Claude de Saint-Simon to Chavigny, published by Chéruel.

a written agreement, by which he undertook that no one should be appointed to any important post in the Government, the Church, the Diplomatic Service, the Army, or the Royal Household, nor should any matter of importance to the State be decided on, unless Condé had been first consulted. Finally, he undertook to sustain "everywhere and always," the interests of *Monsieur le Prince*, "to live with him in perfect intelligence," and not to arrange any marriage for his nephews or nieces without his consent. On these conditions, *Monsieur le Prince* assured the Cardinal "of his friendship, promising to maintain a perfect understanding with him, and to serve him in all the interests of the State, and in his own private interests, towards all and against all."

The effect of this agreement was to make Condé almost a dictator; but, as the crafty Italian had, of course, foreseen, the victory was one which was likely to cost the haughty prince dear. In the first place, he alienated the Frondeurs, who now perceived that Condé had used them merely for his own ends, and, these once accomplished, had abandoned them without compunction. In the second, though the precise terms of the agreement were not made public, it was common knowledge that Condé had not restored his protection to the Cardinal, except at the price of great concessions,* a fact which could not fail to arouse the jealousy of Orléans, already inclined to take umbrage at the influence of *Monsieur le Prince*. Under which circumstances, Mazarin felt that he could afford to swallow the affront he had received and await patiently a favourable opportunity for revenge.

CHAPTER XIV

"PRIDE GOETH BEFORE A FALL"

THE pride and arrogance of Condé and his sister after the Cardinal's surrender knew no bounds. The former had always "preferred gaining battles to hearts;" but Madame de Longueville, once so celebrated for her exquisite tact and winning courtesy, seemed to have become, with the aggrandizement of her family,

* "Madame de Montbazon says," wrote Mazarin, "that the prince hates the Cardinal to the last extremity, speaks of him as a slave who can refuse him nothing, and whom he will drive away when he pleases."—*Carnet XIII.*

as haughty and supercilious as her elder brother. "In affairs of importance," says the Duchesse de Nemours, "they took a pleasure in disobliging, and in affairs of every-day life were so reckless that it was impossible to endure it. They had such a mocking tone, and said such harsh things that no one could fail to take offence. In the visits which were paid them, they exhibited a disdainful weariness, and openly showed their *ennui*. No matter how exalted the rank of their visitors, they were compelled to wait an immense time in *Monsieur le Prince's* ante-chamber; and very frequently, after they had waited so long, he sent every one away without seeing them."

All this naturally did not tend to reconcile the nobility to the domination of the Condés; and an incident which now occurred converted the ill-humour with which they regarded their pretensions into active hostility.

Far from being content with having gratified the ambition of her husband in obtaining for him the government of the Pont-de-l'Arche, Madame de Longueville sought to gratify that of her lover as well; and accordingly pressed Condé to obtain for La Rochefoucauld "the honours of the Louvre"* and the *tabouret* for his wife. At the same time, she also solicited a *tabouret* for her friend Anne du Vigean, elder sister of Condé's former enchantress, and now the widow of the Marquis de Pons, who had claimed descent from the House of Albret. The requests were granted; and Condé, delighted with such a practical proof of the desire of Anne and her Minister to submit in all things to his will, "became mild and tractable," assured the Queen of his fidelity, embraced the Cardinal, and promised him his friendship. "There seemed to be in all minds a general satisfaction. The Queen believed that, after so many troubles, she might at last hope for some repose. Madame de Longueville's desires and those of the Prince de Marsillac [La Rochefoucauld] were fulfilled, and, finding themselves masters of the Court, they had almost nothing to wish for, except the continuance of their success."†

* The right of driving his coach into the courtyard of the Louvre or whichever royal palace the King happened to be residing in. It was a privilege enjoyed by none below the rank of duke, except as a special favour. La Rochefoucauld, it should be remembered, had not yet succeeded to the family title.

† Motteville.

The calm did not last long. The granting of the *tabouret* to the wife of a son of a duke, and to a lady who had only a very shadowy claim to belong to the House of Albret, provoked a perfect storm of protest from almost the entire aristocracy of the kingdom. Nobles who had regarded the Fronde as "*une guerre pour rire*," who had cared not a sol whether Alsace belonged to France or the Empire, or, indeed, for any question which did not directly affect their own interests, were beside themselves with indignation at the thought that Mesdames de Marsillac and de Pons should have the privilege of being seated in the presence of the Queen, while their own wives were compelled to stand. The Maréchal de l'Hôpital presented to her Majesty a petition signed by an immense number of the nobility, including many of the most illustrious names in France, setting forth their objections to the *tabourets* just conferred, and begging her to revoke them without delay. Condé warmly defended his sister's *protégées*. The noblesse grew more insistent, and held several meetings at the Maréchal de l'Hôpital's hôtel. Finally, the Queen and the Cardinal, who asked nothing better than to throw on Condé the odium of favours which had provoked such widespread resentment, and to give themselves the merit of suppressing them,* yielded to the demand of the nobles, and both *tabourets* were withdrawn, to the intense chagrin of *Monsieur le Prince* and his sister, who found that, for once, they had over-reached themselves.

To those older or more skilled in political intrigue than these two—for it is certain that Madame de Longueville was the confidante, if not the instigator, of almost every step that Condé took—this check might have served as a useful lesson; but, as we shall presently see, it appears to have only spurred them on to fresh indiscretions.

In the meanwhile, a more serious measure than disputes over *tabourets* was engaging the attention of the Government. The *rentes* of the Hôtel de Ville, which were secured upon the proceeds of the *gabelle*, or salt-duty, and from which many persons of the middle-class drew their support, were, as a rule, paid with some

* "This affair," wrote the Venetian Ambassador Morosini, "suits Mazarin's game to a nicety: in a word, if Condé yields, he loses the friends whom he has failed to support; if he persists and continues his efforts in their favour, the whole nobility will cry out against him."—Published by Chéruel.

approach to regularity. But, in the still disordered condition of the country, the sale of contraband salt had increased to an alarming extent, while the receipts from the Government warehouses had shown a corresponding decline. The consequence was that the autumn of 1649 found the farmers of the taxes unable to discharge their obligations to the *rentiers*, and the Government powerless to assist them. Mazarin was, as usual, prodigal in promises, and d'Emeri, who had been lately reinstated in the office of Comptroller-General, did what little he could to relieve the distress which the suspension of payment had occasioned. But the complaints of the *rentiers* grew louder and louder; stormy meetings were held at the Hôtel de Ville; syndics were appointed to support their demands, and a new insurrection seemed imminent.

Now, the influence of Retz, Beaufort, and the other leaders of the Fronde had of late declined in a manner which had seriously alarmed these worthies. With the return of the Court, the populace seemed to have lost, for a time at least, their natural inclination towards disorder; Retz's curés had shown a most provoking tendency to inculcate in their flocks lessons of obedience rather than of resistance to the royal authority, and, in spite of the efforts of the coadjutor, the chapter of Notre-Dame had actually sent a deputation to the Cardinal to felicitate him on his return; the gentlemen of the long robe, whose pockets had suffered severely during the war, seemed to think of nothing but garnering fees; while Madame de Longueville, her husband, Conti, La Rochefoucauld, Bouillon, and others had withdrawn from their party to form one of their own, with *Monsieur le Prince* at its head. In short, they recognised that, unless they speedily found an occasion for asserting themselves, they would come to be regarded as extinct volcanoes, objects of ridicule to their enemies, and of sorrowing wonder to their adherents.

The agitation among the *rentiers* seemed to offer the chiefs of the Frondeurs the opportunity which they sought, and they spared no effort to fan the embers of discontent into the flame of a fresh revolt. In order, however, to give an appearance of legality to their proceedings, it was necessary to secure the co-operation of the Parlement; but that body seemed but little disposed to lend itself to any extreme measures, and their attempt to induce

it to call an assembly of all the Chambers was unsuccessful. They therefore determined to force its hand, by a pretended attempt at the assassination of Guy Joly, one of the syndics of the *rentiers* (December 11). But the affair was badly managed, and, later on the same day, Condé's coach was fired upon, as it was crossing the Pont-Neuf, and one of his servants severely wounded.

As it is usual to throw the responsibility of such deeds upon those who profit by them, certain writers have attributed the attack upon Condé's coach—the prince himself was not in it—to Mazarin, but this hypothesis is now generally discredited. However, if the Cardinal had had no connection with the affair, he did not scruple to take the fullest possible advantage of the weapon which it had placed in his hands, and artfully fanned the indignation of Condé, with the object of bringing about a rupture between the two Frondes, whose union it was his great object to prevent, and preparing the downfall of the prince.

Disdaining to prosecute the authors of the outrage, who, as a matter of fact, had taken to flight, Condé resolved to take vengeance upon the chiefs of the Frondeurs, whom he believed had set them on; and Beaufort, Retz, and Broussel were brought to trial before the Parlement, though there was really nothing to connect either the duke or the coadjutor, unscrupulous as they both were, with an act as impolitic as it was criminal; while Broussel, an estimable, if hot-headed man, appears to have simply been paying the penalty of his apotheosis on the "Day of the Barricades."

The excitement was intense. Excited mobs surrounded the Palais de Justice shouting: "*Vive Beaufort! Vive le coadjuteur!*" The court and hall of the palace were thronged with the relatives, friends, and servants of both accuser and accused. Hundreds of Condé's followers appeared on the first day of the proceedings, with the object of overawing the judges; while the Frondeur nobles sent even into the provinces to bring up their retainers. Both parties came armed to the teeth, and the trial threatened every moment to develop into a sanguinary *mêlée*.

The investigation proceeded but slowly; much time was occupied in examining a charge brought by certain Frondeur judges against Molé—who had certainly shown

a zeal against the accused hardly consistent with judicial impartiality—that he had received an immense bribe from the Government, and was therefore an unfit person to preside over so important a case; and this matter was still under discussion when the court adjourned for the Christmas vacation.

Thoroughly alarmed at the position in which they found themselves, Retz and Beaufort had made repeated efforts to appease the indignation of Condé, offering to furnish him with convincing proofs of their innocence, and to enter into an alliance with him against Mazarin on practically any terms which he might choose to dictate. But the prince's evil genius, Madame de Longueville, frustrated any hope of an accommodation. That lady had recently conceived a violent antipathy to Retz, whom she suspected of having informed her husband of the nature of her relations with La Rochefoucauld, either out of spite at the rejection of his addresses, or, more probably, out of revenge for the manner in which her brother had tricked him and his associates in the previous autumn. M. de Longueville's own affairs of the heart rendered it difficult for him to be Argus-eyed in regard to his wife's conduct, and he had hitherto preferred to regard her connection with La Rochefoucauld as merely one of those unexceptionable attachments which Madame de Sablé and the Hôtel de Rambouillet had brought into fashion; but now he apparently felt bound to remonstrate. Madame was exasperated to the last degree against the coadjutor; nothing but his humiliation and ruin would satisfy her; and Condé, urged on by his sister, remained implacable.

Foiled in their efforts to propitiate Condé, Retz and Beaufort perceived that their only hope of salvation lay in a reconciliation with Mazarin. The Cardinal had for some weeks past recognised that he had much less to fear from the Frondeurs than from the greed and arrogance of the man whose support he could only secure by constant and humiliating sacrifices; and ever since the agreement of October 2, which had alienated Retz and his friends from Condé, secret negotiations had been going on between Mazarin and the Frondeurs for an alliance against the prince.

The principal agent in these negotiations was Madame de Chevreuse, who exercised a great influence in the

counsels of the Fronde. Through her daughter,* who had become the mistress of Retz, she governed the coadjutor ;† through her step-mother, Madame de Montbazon, she governed Beaufort ; and she was, besides, on terms of intimate friendship with Gaston d'Orléans.

Political calculation and private resentment alike inclined Madame de Chevreuse to lend her support to Mazarin in his struggle against Condé. She was quick to recognise that the arrogant young prince would in the end be no match for the skill and astuteness of his adversary, sustained as the latter was by the inflexible resolution of the Queen ; and she accordingly decided that her own interests would be best served by an alliance with the Cardinal. Moreover, she shared the old enmity of the House of Lorraine to the Bourbons, and had not forgiven Madame de Longueville and the Dowager Princesse de Condé for their triumph over Madame de Montbazon and herself at the beginning of the Regency.‡

Notwithstanding her efforts and those of her step-mother, the negotiations made comparatively little progress, for Beaufort still hesitated to compromise his popularity with the people by a reconciliation with the Cardinal ; while Retz had not yet abandoned all hope of a coalition of the two Frondes. But the institution of criminal proceedings against the duke and the coadjutor, and the zeal with which the Court urged on the prosecution, had shown them plainly that, unless they were prepared to enter into an alliance with Mazarin to crush Condé, Mazarin intended to use Condé to crush them.

After the Christmas vacation the trial of the accused Frondeurs was resumed. The first week was occupied in the investigation of the charge against Molé—a trial within

* Charlotte de Lorraine, Mademoiselle de Chevreuse. Madame de Motteville says of her : " Mademoiselle de Chevreuse was not really beautiful ; she had fine eyes and a beautiful mouth, and charming features ; but she was not fair enough to be beautiful." Her father, the Duc de Chevreuse, declared that her eyes were " capable of inflaming the whole earth."

† We know, from both Retz and Mazarin, that Madame de Chevreuse deliberately sacrificed her daughter's honour to her own ambitions, and connived at this shameful intrigue between a young girl and a high dignitary of the Church, in order to obtain influence over the latter. Mazarin wrote from Brühl : " She [the Duchesse de Chevreuse] told me in confidence, that she held him [the coadjutor] by means of her daughter, who conducted herself in such fashion in regard to the coadjutor as to give him her love, and wean him from that which he had for Madame de Guéménée. This she has repeated to me several times."

‡ See p. 76, *et seq. supra.*

a trial, so to speak—and it was finally decided that he should continue to act; which matter disposed of, the Parlement turned to the business in hand, and the case dragged slowly on, with no immediate prospect of a decision being arrived at. In the meantime, however, Condé had succeeded in filling the cup of his offences full to the brim, by outraging the Queen, both as a sovereign and as a woman.

Aware that the chief obstacle to the despotism which he aspired to exercise at Court was the devotion of Anne to the Cardinal, the prince determined to endeavour to divert her Majesty's affection into another channel, and selected for that purpose one of his *protégés*, the Marquis de Jarzé, "who was by nature brusque, conceited, satirical and frivolous." Jarzé, having gained over to his cause Madame de Beauvais, first waiting-woman to the Queen, addressed a declaration of love to her Majesty, which the *femme-de-chambre* deposited one evening in a conspicuous place on her royal mistress's dressing-table. Anne was so annoyed that she could not sleep all night, and next morning consulted Mazarin, who counselled her to treat Jarzé with the contempt which his presumption merited, and administer to him a public rebuff. The Queen followed his advice, and Jarzé was compelled to quit the Court, amid general ridicule. Instead of accepting the defeat of his little scheme, Condé complained bitterly of the dismissal of Jarzé; declared that "the old gallant had driven away the new;" and insisted on the discomfited "*petit-maître*" being permitted to reappear at Court, threatening, if this were not done, he would take him into his own service, and bring him every day "by his fist" to the Palais-Royal. In short, he compelled the Queen to receive the man who had affronted her, though the ladies of the Court declared with one voice that "there was no private gentlewoman even to whom in an affair of this nature one ought not to leave full liberty to act as she pleased."

As though resolved to test the Queen's forbearance to the uttermost, *Monsieur le Prince*, once more instigated by his sister, followed up this discreditable episode by a most insolent act of defiance of the royal authority.

We have mentioned elsewhere the anxiety of the Duc de Longueville to get possession of the government of Havre, then held by the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, for her

nephew, the young Duc de Richelieu, at this time a lad of eighteen. Had he realised his ambition, nothing would have been wanting but the title of Duke of Normandy, since he already held the governments of Caen, Dieppe, Rouen, and the Pont-de-l'Arche, while the other fortresses in the province were in the hands of Condé's partisans. His design, as we have seen, had been frustrated by the firmness of Mazarin; but a means of securing Havre to her brother's party was not long in presenting itself to the active mind of Madame de Longueville.

Her friend Madame de Pons, one of the heroines of the "War of the *Tabourets*," had, all unknown to the unsuspicious Madame d'Aiguillon, been for some months past angling for the hand of the young Duc de Richelieu, who was one of the richest *partis* in France, and had succeeded in bringing the susceptible youth to her feet.* As, however, three years had yet to elapse before the duke attained his majority, and there was not the remotest chance of either the Queen or his aunt consenting to his espousing a moderately dowered widow, nearly double his age, the lovers despaired of the consummation of their happiness. At this moment a *dea ex machinâ* appeared, in the shape of Madame de Longueville, who indicated a way out of their difficulty.

Since it was certain that the Queen and the duke's guardian, she said, would never give their consent to the match, they must dispense with it and contract a secret marriage. She and her brothers would assist them in this; and afterwards *Monsieur le Prince*, to whom her Majesty and the Cardinal dared refuse nothing, would accord them his powerful protection, and engage to make everything right with the Court. But there was a condition attached to these good offices: Richelieu must seize Havre and hold it for the Prince de Condé.

On December 24, 1649, Richelieu left Havre, on the pretext of a hunting-party, and repaired to the Château of Trie, near Beauvais, one of the residences of the Duc de Longueville, where, two days later, he was married to his inamorata, by the almoner of the château, in the presence of Madame de Longueville, Condé, and Conti. The young duke then returned to Havre, and promptly got possession of the citadel; and, though the Queen, when

* "Madame de Pons was not in the least handsome; but she had a very pretty figure and a fine bust."—Motteville.

informed of what had occurred, despatched an officer to command him to surrender it forthwith, threatening that, if he refused, she would cause his marriage with Madame de Pons to be annulled and that lady shut up in a convent, he remained deaf to all appeals.

This affair decided the ruin of Condé. The Queen was indignant at his open defiance of her authority; Mazarin was profoundly alarmed at the loss of the strongest fortress in Normandy; Madame d'Aiguillon, furious at the "abduction" of her nephew (for so Mazarin terms it); while Madame de Chevreuse, who had intended Richelieu as a husband for her own daughter, was scarcely less exasperated. The influence of the last-named lady sufficed to overcome the last scruples of Retz and Beaufort. The coadjutor, "disguised as a cavalier," paid several nocturnal visits to the Palais-Royal, to confer with Anne of Austria and the Cardinal; and in a few days terms had been agreed upon, and the alliance between the Court and the Old Fronde was an accomplished fact. It was decided that Condé, Conti, and Longueville should be arrested, if possible, together; while their party was to be crushed by the seizure of Madame de Longueville, La Rochefoucauld, Bouillon, and Turenne. In return for the quashing of the proceedings against himself and Beaufort, and for suitable compensation for them and the other leaders of their party, the coadjutor agreed to answer for the tranquillity of Paris.

It was judged necessary, however, to secure the consent of Orléans to the arrest of the princes. This presented some difficulty, since the Abbé de la Rivière had recently allied himself with the Condés, seduced by *Monsieur le Prince's* pledge to support his claims to a cardinal's hat. An intrigue of the Luxembourg, however, facilitated Mazarin's task. Gaston happened at this time to be desperately enamoured of a certain Mlle. de Saugeon, one of his wife's maids-of-honour, who had, however, resisted his importunities, and fled for shelter to the Carmelites; and Mazarin and Madame de Chevreuse persuaded *Monsieur* that La Rivière had counselled the lady to take this step, through fear that, if she yielded to the duke's solicitations, he might find in her a dangerous rival in his patron's favour. The Cardinal brought several other accusations against the abbé, blending truth and falsehood in so skilful a manner that Orléans was com-

pletely deceived; and, convinced that his favourite was sacrificing his interests to those of Condé, promised to dismiss him from his service. The influence which the abbé had so long exercised over the feeble Gaston once destroyed, the prince, already offended by the imperious manners of Condé, and, jealous of the great power he now exercised, yielded to the instances of the Queen, the Duchesse de Chevreuse, and Mazarin, and consented to the measures they contemplated.

CHAPTER XV

THE ARREST OF THE PRINCES

IT was on January 14, 1650, that the compact between the Court and the Frondeurs was concluded. According to Retz, it had been found necessary to initiate no less than seventeen persons into the projected *coup d'État;* and, since Mazarin was fearful lest some indiscretion on the part of one of them might ruin everything, he resolved to hasten matters. A meeting of the Council was therefore summoned for the evening of the 18th, which would furnish the Government with an opportunity of arresting all three princes together. It was feared, however, that Longueville, who was at Chaillot, suffering from an attack of gout, might not be present. But the Cardinal sent word to him that the question of the reversion of the royal lieutenancy of Upper Normandy, which the duke had requested for a friend, the Marquis de Beuvron, governor of the Vieux-Palais at Rouen, would come up for discussion, as well as other questions on which his opinion would be invited; and this had the effect of ensuring his attendance.

On the morning of the 18th, Condé paid an unexpected visit to Mazarin, at the Palais-Royal, and entered his cabinet unannounced. Lionne happened at that very moment to be writing, at the Minister's dictation, the order for the arrest of the princes, and he had barely time to conceal the paper under some others which lay before him, before Condé had stepped up to the table. Mazarin, however, hastened to cover his subordinate's embarrassment by the effusiveness of his greeting, and then informed the prince that he had just ascertained the hiding-place of Des Coutures, one of the syndics of the *rentiers*, who was

accused of having excited the disturbances of December 11. As the apprehension of this person might cause some trouble, and an attempt be made to rescue him from the hands of justice, he considered it advisable that two or three companies of the Household troops should be requisitioned to conduct him safely to prison. Condé offered no objection, and at once signed orders for the gendarmes of the King's Guard and the Queen's light cavalry to be in readiness that evening to escort a prisoner to Vincennes. The former were to be stationed under the command of Miossens, La Rochefoucauld's former rival for Madame de Longueville's affections,* at the Porte de Richelieu, the latter, at the little gate of the Palais-Royal garden. Then, little thinking that the prisoner for whose security these preparations were to be made was none other than himself, he took his departure, leaving the Cardinal to chuckle over the cunning way in which he had succeeded in trapping his enemy, since the calling out of the gendarmes and light cavalry would certainly have aroused suspicion, had not the order been given by Condé himself.

The meeting of the Council had been called for six o'clock in the evening. Condé arrived early, and made his way to the Queen's apartments, where Anne, who had thought it advisable to feign a slight indisposition, was in bed. With her was the Dowager Princesse de Condé, who enjoyed the privilege of being admitted, even when her Majesty did not see any one. Her visit at such a time had caused the Queen much embarrassment, which was not lessened by the arrival of *Monsieur le Prince*. However, with that dissimulation of which she was so great a mistress, she conversed with them for some minutes on indifferent topics, and then dismissed them. This was the last occasion on which Condé was destined to see his mother, who died less than twelve months later.

On taking leave of the Queen, the prince made his way to the Council-chamber, where Mazarin, Brienne, the Chancellor Séguier, the Abbé de la Rivière, and Servien were already assembled. The Duc d'Orléans did not appear, thinking it prudent to be seized with a diplomatic illness; but the other members of the Council arrived in succession, among them the Prince de Conti and the Duc de Longueville, the latter being the last to come in. Mazarin immediately sent to inform the Regent that the Council

* See p. 112 *supra*.

was awaiting her ; it was the signal agreed upon. Leaving her bed, Anne of Austria gave the necessary orders to Guitaut, captain of her guards. Then, taking the young King, to whom she had as yet said nothing of what had been decided on, into her oratory, she informed him that the princes were about to be arrested, and bade him kneel down and pray for the success of the enterprise, "of which she awaited the termination with emotion and a beating heart."*

After despatching his message to the Queen, the Cardinal turned to the Abbé de la Rivière. "I have a word to say to you," said he ; and he led him into his cabinet. The passage outside was full of guards, at sight of which La Rivière turned pale and inquired, in trembling tones, if it were intended to arrest him. The Cardinal reassured him, and then informed him of what was about to take place. When the abbé understood that Orléans had agreed to the arrest of the princes without consulting him, he knew that his power was gone. "I am a ruined man with my master," he exclaimed.†

In the meanwhile, Guitaut had entered the Council-chamber and approached Condé. "What do you want with me, Guitaut ?" inquired the prince, with a smile, imagining that he had come to request some favour of him for one of his relatives, for the family were *protégés* of his. "I have orders to arrest you, Monsieur, together with the Prince de Conti and M. de Longueville," replied Guitaut, in a low tone.

For a moment, Condé believed that he was jesting, but, convinced, by the officer's manner, that he was in earnest, bade him "in God's name, return to the Queen and say that he requested to speak with her." Then, approaching the group of counsellors, none of whom had overheard what had passed, he said : "Well, my brothers, we are arrested ! I confess this astonishes me, who have always served the King so faithfully, and who believed myself assured of the friendship of M. le Cardinal."

The two princes were confounded. The Chancellor, feigning a like astonishment, offered to go and find the Regent, and was followed by Servien. They did not return, but presently Guitaut reappeared, and informed

* Motteville.

† He was, however, far from a ruined man in a financial sense, since, in the six years of his favour, he had contrived to amass a fortune of over two million livres.

Condé that the Queen had commanded him to execute her orders. "Very well!" answered Condé, who had by this time recovered his composure, "but whither are you going to conduct me? I beg you into some warm place."

Guitaut made the princes descend by a secret staircase, and conducted them through the garden, Longueville, "who had a bad leg, and did not find it agreeable to make use of it on this occasion," limping painfully along, supported by two soldiers. At the gate, they found a coach in readiness, guarded by an escort of the Queen's light cavalry. By the light of the torches which they held, Condé recognised several men who had fought by his side in Flanders. "This is not the battle of Lens," said he to one of them; but discipline was stronger than their devotion to the general who had led them to victory, and there was no reply. The prisoners and Guitaut drove to the Porte de Richelieu, where Miossens awaited them, at the head of the gendarmes of the King's Guard, in conformity with the order which Condé himself had signed that morning.

Alighting from the coach which had brought them from the Palais-Royal, the princes entered another, which set off at a gallop towards Vincennes. Darkness had fallen, however, and the roads were in a bad condition. Suddenly the coach was overturned, and its occupants found themselves in the road. Condé would have escaped, but was stopped by the leader of the escort. "Ah! Miossens, if you would . . . !" said the prince. "Monseigneur," replied the officer, firmly, "everywhere else I am your servant: here I am only the servant of the King." And he laid his hand on the butt of his pistol.

After much labour, the coach was raised from the ground and repaired, and towards nine o'clock they arrived at Vincennes. In order to avoid all suspicion of what was intended, no orders had been sent for their reception, and neither supper nor beds had been prepared; and they might have gone hungry to the trusses of straw which were their only couches, had not the Maréchal de Rantzau, who was also a prisoner, sent them some bottles of wine and the remains of his own supper.

The arrest of the princes was carried out with so much secrecy, that their people were still waiting for them in the courtyard of the Palais-Royal, when a messenger was sent to inform them that their masters were in the Château of Vincennes. An attempt was made by some of Condé's

partisans, headed by Montmorency-Boutteville, afterwards the Maréchal de Luxembourg, to excite a riot, by spreading a report that it was Beaufort who had been carried off; but, warned of this, the duke rode through the streets, followed by servants bearing torches to show their master, and the tumult speedily subsided. Such indeed, was the unpopularity of Condé, owing to his conduct in the recent war and his prosecution of those idols of the populace, Beaufort and Retz, that the people, so far from resenting his arrest, hailed it with acclamations, and bonfires were lighted everywhere, round which gathered excited crowds, singing and dancing and discharging their rusty arquebuses in the air.

Nor were these rejoicings confined to the city. The salons of the Palais-Royal were thronged with nobles and gentlemen of the Fronde, who had come to offer their felicitations to the Regent and Mazarin. "On entering the Queen's apartments," writes Madame de Motteville, "I was astonished to behold so many new faces. It was completely filled by the Frondeurs. Each held his sword in his hand (sheathed, however), and all were vowing that they were good servants to the King, and were about to be defenders of the Queen and of the power of the State."

The Queen and Mazarin appear to have been in some doubt whether to arrest the two Princesses de Condé, with the little Duc d'Enghien, then between six and seven years old. "But considering," says Lenet, "that the dowager was a princess of a timid and indolent disposition, and that the young princess was without friends, without money, and without experience, and not very well satisfied with the conduct of the prince her husband, they had decided to merely order them to retire to Chantilly." In sparing the younger princess, as we shall presently see, they committed a grave error.

If, however, the Court were unwilling to take any steps against the wife and mother of Condé, they had no hesitation at all with regard to his sister, who had taken a more prominent part than any one in the New Fronde. It was she who had excited the ambition and haughty pretensions of *Monsieur le Prince*, and done everything in her power to embitter him against the Cardinal. It was at her solicitation that he had insisted on the bestowal of the Pont-de-l'Arche on Longueville, demanded the *tabourets*

for Mesdames de Marsillac and de Pons, and, finally, in open defiance of the royal authority, concluded the marriage of the latter lady and the young Duc de Richelieu, and wrested Havre from the Government. The Queen and Mazarin both felt that, unless the duchess shared the fate of her husband and brothers, their work would be but half-accomplished; and no sooner was she informed that the princes were on their way to Vincennes, than Anne despatched La Vrillière, one of the Secretaries of State, to the Hôtel de Longueville, to summon her, in the name of their Majesties, to the Palais-Royal, where it was intended to arrest her.

La Vrillière did not find the duchess at home, she having gone to spend the evening at the house of her friend the Princess Palatine.* Here her servants presently came to inform her of the arrest of the princes, upon which "she swooned away, and no one seemed more moved by the disaster than she was."† Upon coming to herself, she set off at once to the Hôtel de Condé to see her mother, whom she found in company with the Comte de Brienne, who had been sent by the Queen to inform her of what had occurred, and to communicate to her the order to retire to Chantilly with her daughter-in-law and grandson. The Minister, however, who was a kind-hearted and rather timid man, had not yet succeeded in summoning up sufficient courage to perform this unpleasant duty; and when Madame de Longueville entered the room, exclaiming: "Ah! Madame, my brothers!" the old princess, who had seen Condé in friendly conversation with the Queen only an hour or two before, and never dreamed that he had been arrested, cried out, in an agony of fear: "Alas! what is it? My sons, my children—are they dead? What has happened to them?" Brienne thereupon hastened to reassure her, by telling her that her sons were well, but that the Queen had caused them to be arrested, after which he handed her her Majesty's orders exiling her and her daughter-in-law to Chantilly.

La Vrillière now arrived in quest of Madame de Longueville, with the Queen's orders for her to repair immediately to the Palais-Royal. The duchess, who had not the least doubt that she too was to be arrested, after a consultation with her mother, answered that she would obey her

* Anne de Gonzague. † Motteville.

Majesty's command ; and, in company with the Princess Palatine, entered the coach which had brought them to the Hôtel de Condé, as though with the intention of proceeding to the Palais-Royal. But, instead of going thither, they drove to a little house belonging to " Madame Palatine," in the Faubourg Saint-Germain, whither Madame de Longueville at once sent to summon her stepdaughter, La Rochefoucauld, and other friends. As the result of their deliberations, it was unanimously decided that the duchess should fly to Normandy, and endeavour to raise a revolt in that province in favour of the imprisoned princes ; and that very night she started for Rouen, in a coach which the Princess Palatine had lent her, accompanied by Mlle. de Longueville, La Rochefoucauld, the Marquis de Beuvron, Saint-Ibal,* the poet Sarrasin, and several of her waiting-women.

In the early summer of 1648, the princess had, with her husband, paid a visit to Normandy, where, as the wife of its popular governor, she had been received everywhere with enthusiasm. The poet Antoine Halley had dedicated to her charming Latin verses, and the grave Pierre du Bosc, the celebrated Huguenot minister of Caen, one of the most eloquent speakers of his time, had addressed to her a most flattering harangue, in which he declared that " it was recognised that all that rumour had declared her Highness to be, was only a feeble sketch of what she actually was," adding that his fellow-townsmen " would not flinch when her service was in question."† Moreover, the prominent part which Normandy had played in the Parliamentary Fronde, the docility which the Parlement of Rouen had always shown to the wishes of the Duc de Longueville, the great obligations under which that prince had placed many of the leading nobles of the province, and his immense popularity with the people, all encouraged Madame de Longueville to believe that, when she presented herself among them and implored their aid in obtaining the liberation of her husband, the Normans would rise almost as one man. It was therefore a resolute and hopeful, if very weary, princess who, after travelling all through the night, entered the Vieux-Palais, at Rouen, the following day.

* See p. 104 *supra*.

† *La Vie de Pierre du Bosc, ministre du saint-Évangile* (Rotterdam, 1679).

The success of this hazardous journey, however, depended largely on the attitude adopted by the Parlement of Normandy; and, unhappily for Madame de Longueville, the disposition of that body was now very different from what it had been twelve months earlier. During the Parliamentary Fronde, it had declared for the insurgents, because, like the Parlement of Paris, it had grievances of its own which called for redress. These, or at any rate the most important of them, had been removed by the Government at the time of the Peace of Rueil; and, though many of its members resented the arrest of Longueville, it felt that that was hardly a sufficient reason for again taking up arms and plunging the whole of Normandy, which had suffered greatly during the late revolt, into the horrors of a new civil war. Besides, the chances of a successful rising were now infinitely less than they had been in 1648. Then, the Court had been too much occupied with its endeavours to reduce the rebellious capital to submission to have much attention to spare for the revolted provinces; whereas, on this occasion, Paris was tranquil, and the Government consequently at liberty to take effective measures to suppress any disorders which might arise elsewhere. Finally, Mazarin had skilfully anticipated the action of Madame de Longueville, and, on the very day of the arrest of the princes, had assured Myron, a counsellor of the Parlement of Rouen, then in Paris, that it was the intention of the Government to observe most scrupulously all the promises it had made that body at the Peace of Rueil; and the Parlement, informed by special courier of this good news, had hastened to reply that the King might count on its unquestioning obedience to his commands. It will therefore be perceived that both interest and honour prohibited the Parlement of Rouen from giving any assistance to Madame de Longueville; and, on the other hand, enjoined upon it to exert all its influence to maintain order in Normandy.*

An incident which occurred during the princess's hurried journey to Rouen served to convince the Parlement that this influence must be exercised without delay. At Écouis, the party had been overtaken by a royal courier, bearing despatches from the King to the Parlement informing it of the arrest of the princes, and

* Floquet, *Histoire du Parlement de Normandie.*

his reasons for this step. To the courier's appeal to "make way in the King's name," Madame de Longueville's followers replied by seizing his horse's head, dragging him out of the saddle, and robbing him of his despatches, after which they carried him with them as a prisoner into Rouen, and locked him up in a room at an inn called the "Croix Blanche."

Having broken open and perused the King's despatches, Madame de Longueville sent them, with her compliments, to the Parlement, which, as may be imagined, was highly incensed at such an insult to the royal authority and its own dignity. Officers of the Chamber were at once sent to the "Croix Blanche," to liberate the imprisoned courier and bring him to the Palais de Justice, where he immediately identified the despatches as those which had been taken from him at Écouis.

While he was still being questioned, the Marquis de Beuvron arrived, to invoke the assistance of the Parlement, on behalf of Madame de Longueville. He met, however, with a very cold reception from the assembled magistrates, indignant at hearing him demand the protection of the law after just participating in so gross a violation of it. Nor did they confine their hostility to declining to countenance the designs of the princess and her followers, but showed that it was their intention to use their authority to check any attempt at insurrection. In virtue of his office as governor of the Vieux-Palais, Beuvron, in the absence of the Duc de Longueville, had command of the citizen militia, and had already taken advantage of this to place several companies under arms. But, to his intense mortification, the *procureur-général*, Courtin, now informed him, on behalf of the Parlement, that, since he and Madame de Longueville had quitted the Court without taking leave of their Majesties or receiving their orders, and had travelled together to Normandy with such haste, although the Parlement desired to believe that their intentions were not suspicious, it had decided, until it had received fresh orders from his Majesty, to keep the direction of the armed force of the city in its own hands.

This decision on the part of the Parlement was a severe blow to the princess's plans; but she was not easily discouraged, and "did everything in her power to make the

capital of the province revolt."* All that day, Rouen was in a state of commotion; the partisans of the imprisoned governor, armed to the teeth, paraded the streets, exchanging glances of defiance with those whom they suspected of being on the side of the Government; agents of the duchess hurried hither and thither, using every persuasion to induce the populace to rise on her behalf; and the house of one Romé de Fresquienne was converted into a kind of arsenal, from which bundles of muskets and pikes were continually being transferred to the quays, where they were placed in boats and conveyed down the river to the Pont-de-l'Arche, which it had been decided to place in a state of defence.

The Parlement, however, resolved to suppress with a firm hand all attempts at revolt, now adopted vigorous measures, and, on the demand of the *procureur-général*, issued decrees probibiting "all persons, *of whatever quality and condition they might be*, from holding any meetings or assembling together with arms in their hands, without the express order of the King, *under pain of death;*" enjoining the citizens to apprehend the first person who should dare to commit an act of violence, and directing every innkeeper in the city to furnish the authorities of his quarter with the names of all strangers who came to lodge with him, "*of whatever quality and condition they might be*," after which the police were empowered to interrogate them as to the business which had brought them to the city, and report to the Parlement; while officers were sent to the quays to search every boat and vessel there, and to seize all weapons found on them. At the same time, it sent a deputation to Paris, to reiterate to the King its determination to spare no endeavour to keep the province in its allegiance to his Majesty.

In the face of the resolute attitude of the Parlement, Madame de Longueville perceived that she must abandon all hope of making Rouen a centre of resistance to the royal authority, and seek without delay some other base for her operations. Sainte-Aulaire states that, "on the rumour of the approach of a royal army, the people of Rouen rose, and the duchess was obliged to quit the Vieux-Palais and take to flight."† But, as we shall see, it was not until a fortnight later, when the lady's intrigues had

* Montglat, *Mémoires.* † *Histoire de la Fronde.*

reached a point when it was no longer possible to tolerate them, that the Government decided to take active measures against her; and it would appear that, so far from driving her away, the populace witnessed her departure with regret. "She shed tears and, among the people, tears were shed also."* Although Rouen had failed her, the princess was still very far from despairing of success, as nearly all the fortresses of Normandy: Caen, Cherbourg, Saint-Lô, Granville, the Pont-de-l'Arche, and Havre were in the hands of her party. It was to the last-named town to which she made her way, confident that she would receive a hearty welcome and loyal support from the young Duc de Richelieu and her old friend Anne du Vigean, whose marriage, as we have seen, she had been mainly instrumental in bringing about. But here again Mazarin had forestalled her. Well aware of the danger of permitting the princess and her followers to obtain a footing in Havre, he had at once despatched thither the Marquis de Termes, an old and valued friend of the House of Richelieu, charged to inform the duke that, if he would close his gates against Madame de Longueville and keep the town in its allegiance to the King, his marriage should be duly ratified, and the duchess received at Court with all the honours befitting her rank; but that, on the other hand, if he showed the slightest hesitation in performing his duty, the Regent would continue to refuse to recognise the union. The consequence was that Richelieu, urged on by his ambitious wife, who was but little disposed to allow any sentiments of gratitude or friendship to stand between her and the favours of the Court, declined to admit Madame de Longueville, on the ground that the feeling both among the officers of the garrison and the city authorities was too hostile to the designs of the princess for him to venture to ignore it.

Excluded from Rouen and repulsed from Havre, Madame de Longueville, whose determination seemed only to be strengthened by the obstacles which she was encountering, next turned to Dieppe. Here she was more successful. The governor, Montigny,† a staunch adherent of her husband, received her with every protesta-

* *Apologie particulière pour M. le Duc de Longueville* (Amsterdam, 1650), cited by Floquet.

† He had formerly been captain of the Duc de Longueville's guards, and had had command of the escort which accompanied the duchess to Münster, in 1646.

tion of devotion, and immediately ordered apartments to be prepared for her and her followers in the château.

Mistress of the citadel, which completely commanded the town and the harbour, Madame de Longueville, whose resentment against the Court had not been diminished by the checks she had experienced at Rouen and Havre, threw scruples to the winds, and lost no time in despatching a courier to Brussels, to beg the Archduke Leopold to send her troops, money and ships ;* after which she turned her attention to the townsfolk, whose goodwill, or at least their neutrality, it was above all things of importance to ensure.

Now, the good people of Dieppe had been for generations noted for their unflinching loyalty to their kings. In 1589, Dieppe had been one of the first Norman towns to recognise the authority of Henri IV. ; its inhabitants —men, women, and children—had turned out to labour in the trenches when the Béarnais defended it so gallantly against the League in the autumn of that year, and many a stout burgher had fought by his side at Arques and Ivry. These glorious traditions, perpetuated as they were by the special privileges with which the services of the town to the House of Bourbon had been rewarded, made the Dieppois one of the most loyal communities in the whole of France : and it was therefore with feelings of indignation and alarm that they witnessed the arrival of Madame de Longueville and her suite, and the readiness which which Montigny had placed the château in her hands.

The municipal authorities forthwith summoned a meeting of the principal inhabitants at the Hôtel de Ville, to consider what measures should be adopted in so difficult a situation ; and, notwithstanding the danger to which they were exposed from the cannon of the citadel, it was resolved to do everything possible to prevent the princess and Montigny making themselves masters of the town, which was evidently their intention.

The authorities accordingly ordered three companies of the citizen militia to arm themselves and take up a position immediately below the château, to cut off all communication between it and the town. But scarcely had the order been issued, than Madame de Longueville

* *Déclaration royale, du 9 Mars*, 1650, *contre la duchesse de Longueville, le maréchal de Turenne*, etc.

was observed descending from the château, accompanied by the governor, and several other gentlemen. The princess proceeded to the Hôtel de Ville, where she made a long speech to those assembled, "to prove to them that her intentions contained nothing contrary to the King's service; that her only desire, in forming a union of the towns which were interesting themselves in favour of the princes, was to facilitate their liberation, which was but justice, since they had only been made prisoners of the State, because they had served it against the foreigner Mazarin, who had no intention but to ruin it; that, in short, she asked nothing of them, except their assistance in obtaining the princes' liberation, and that they would prove themselves the most ungrateful of men, if they refused this service to the memory of the Comte de Dunois and his descendants, who had rendered them so many good offices."*

To this harangue, Martin, the senior sheriff, replied that the citizens of Dieppe deeply regretted the detention of the princes, but that their town belonged to the King, and that they earnestly entreated the princess to ask nothing of them which might appear contrary to his Majesty's service. In all else, he said, they were her Highness's most humble and devoted servants. Then, turning to the governor, he added, "with the noble assurance of virtue": "Monsieur, you are aware of our love for the King; do not compel us to give you proofs of it."

Much chagrined at their failure to overcome the loyal scruples of the Dieppois, Madame de Longueville and her escort returned to the château, passing on their way the three companies of the citizen militia, which had just taken up the post which had been assigned them. At sight of them, Montigny inquired angrily of the officer in command why he had placed the men under arms without his orders. To which the latter answered that, "since the governor had abandoned the service of the King, he no longer possessed the right to issue orders."

Later in the day, two more companies were called out, and every approach to the town so carefully guarded as to render any attempt on the part of the garrison to effect an entrance impossible. The only means of reducing the citizens to submission was a bombardment;

* *Mémoires chronologiques pour servir à l'histoire de Dieppe* (Paris, 1785).

but to so extreme a measure Madame de Longueville was naturally reluctant to resort, and, consequently, she had no alternative but to await with as much patience as she could command the arrival of the Spaniards from Flanders.

In the meanwhile, the deputation from the Parlement of Normandy had visited Paris to inform the Regent of the resistance it had offered to the machinations of Madame de Longueville, and to assure her of its fidelity and of that of the whole population of Rouen. At the same time, the deputies represented that the Marquis de Chamboy, who had been appointed by Longueville deputy-governor of the Pont-de-l'Arche, had declared for the party of the princes, and was terrorizing the whole surrounding country; for which reason, they begged that the fortress should be destroyed, offering to assist with troops and money. This disquieting intelligence was quickly followed by the news that Madame de Longueville had entered the Château of Dieppe, and was not only in constant communication with several towns in the province, but had despatched an envoy to Brussels. Upon which, Mazarin, notwithstanding the severity of the winter, and the fact that typhus fever was raging in Rouen, determined that the Court should proceed thither as speedily as possible and restore order.

Accordingly, on February 1, their Majesties left the capital, accompanied by nearly the whole Court, including *Mademoiselle*, who tells us that she experienced "real grief at thus quitting Paris, at a season which was more suitable for dancing than for travelling."* During the absence of the Regent, it had been decided that the Duc d'Orléans should remain in Paris, furnished with the most extensive powers; but Mazarin took care to leave behind, also, his devoted henchman, Michel Le Tellier, with instructions to keep a very watchful eye upon his Royal Highness. As a hostage for the good behaviour of the Frondeurs, the Cardinal carried off with him the Marquis de Noirmoutier, one of the most prominent members of that party.

The troops which accompanied the King consisted merely of forty men of the light cavalry, thirty-eight guards, and as many gendarmes, commanded by the Comte d'Harcourt, which seemed a very inadequate force

* Mlle. de Montpensier, *Mémoires*.

for the reduction of the strongholds in the hands of the partisans of the princes, the principal object of the journey. "But," observes Madame de Motteville, "the authority of legitimate power often equals the strength of the largest battalions."

On February 15, their Majesties made their entry into Rouen, when the sight of their little sovereign, who had braved the inclemency of the weather and the danger of contagion in order to maintain his authority, excited the wildest enthusiasm among the population. On the following day, the Pont-de-l'Arche, the strongest fortress in Normandy, surrendered without a blow being struck, and then, in rapid succession, Havre, Caen, Saint-Lô, Cherbourg and Granville made their submission, their governors, being, in most cases, replaced by devoted servants of the Crown.

The day after the arrival of the Court at Rouen, a deputation from the inhabitants of Dieppe arrived, to acquaint their Majesties with the state of affairs in that town, and "to beg for a leader and some officers to command them, with the assurance that they would obey them in all things and defend them at the peril of their lives."*

Their request was readily granted, and the Marquis du Plessis-Bellière, who had distinguished himself in several campaigns, was directed to proceed to Dieppe. As, however, Madame de Longueville had given out that her only reason for retiring to Dieppe was to seek a place of refuge from the enmity of Mazarin, Anne of Austria sent orders to her to retire to Trie or Coulommiers, whichever she preferred, promising that she should remain there unmolested. But the princess, who "felt herself capable of great enterprises," excused herself from obeying her Majesty's command, on the plea of illness, and sent a long letter to the Queen complaining of the persecutions of the Cardinal. Mlle. de Longueville, however, who had always entertained a strong dislike to her step-mother—a feeling which she is at no pains to conceal in her *Mémoires*—and who had besides grown somewhat weary of the rôle of princess-errant, hastened to avail herself of the Queen's offer; and, in defiance of the orders of the duchess, retired to Coulommiers, where she passed the remainder of her father's imprisonment "in the ease of an innocent idleness."†

* Mazarin to Le Tellier, February 8, 1650. † Motteville.

A few days earlier, La Rochefoucauld, believing, or feigning to believe, that Madame de Longueville was at length in safety, had departed, to devote himself to the congenial task of stirring up disaffection in Poitou; but, on the other hand, the duchess was joined by the Marquis de Chamboy and several officers from the garrison of the Pont-de-l'Arche. The princess now summoned the sheriffs to the château, and used every persuasion to induce them to deliver up the town. Finding them inexorable, she tried the effect of threats, and declared that she would order the cannon of the citadel to bombard the town and raze it to the ground, if they persisted in their contumacy. To which Martin made answer that he had been charged by the townsfolk to assure her Highness that "they would rather lose property and lives than be unfaithful."

Madame de Longueville did not dare to put her threat into execution; but that night a number of gentlemen of the Pays de Caux, who had come to offer her their services, made an attempt to surprise the advance-guard of the citizens. The latter, however, were on the alert, and received their assailants with so sharp a fire, that they were glad to retreat to the shelter of the château.

Next day, Du Plessis-Bellière arrived, accompanied by Abraham du Quesne (who, in later years, became so celebrated), the Comte de Saint-Aignan, and several other officers, and took immediate measures to surround the château. He placed 400 men between it and the sea, sent 300 others, under the command of Saint-Aignan, to blockade it on the land side, while the rest of the citizen militia remained under arms, in readiness to hasten to their assistance should the garrison venture on a sortie.

Fearful of being taken prisoner—for the garrison would appear to have been but little inclined for armed resistance to the officers sent by the Queen; while the château was, besides, but ill-provisioned for a siege, and must sooner or later be reduced by famine—Madame de Longueville resolved to make her escape. Foreseeing the present conjuncture, she had already engaged a ship, commanded by one Daniel, to carry her and her followers, if occasion arose, to the Netherlands; and this vessel now lay at anchor in the roadstead. Accordingly, on the night of February 8-9, accompanied by Chamboy, Saint-Ibal, the poet Sarrasin, La Roque—the captain of Condé's

guards—and a few other gentlemen, and those of her women who had the courage not to desert her, she quitted the château by a postern-door which had been left unwatched by the besiegers, and descended to the bottom of the cliff on which the fortress stands, where she had arranged to embark. But alas! Du Plessis-Bellière had got wind of her intentions, and the beach was occupied by the citizen militia.

Fortunately, owing to the darkness of the night, the princess and her party were able to withdraw unperceived, and, after walking two leagues, they reached a little creek (probably Ailly), where they found two fishing-smacks. One of these Madame de Longueville endeavoured to hire, to convey the fugitives to the ship which was lying off Dieppe; but the wind, which had been rising all day, had now increased to a gale, and for some time both skippers refused to put out to sea. At length, tempted by the munificence of her offers and pitying her distress, one of them agreed to make the attempt, and a stalwart sailor took the lady in his arms to carry her to the boat. But the united strength of wind and sea were such that he was unable to hold his burden, and allowed the princess to fall into the water, from which she was with difficulty rescued and dragged almost senseless to the beach.

Nothing daunted by this mishap, Madame de Longueville had no sooner revived than she wished to make another attempt; but to this neither entreaties nor promises could persuade the fishermen to consent. Fortunately, horses were procurable, on which the princess and her women rode *en croupe* to the hamlet of Pourville, where they were able to warm their shivering limbs, and obtain the rest they so sorely needed, at the house of the curé of the parish, who did everything possible for the comfort of his unexpected guests, of whose identity he for some time remained in ignorance. Madame de Longueville never forgot this terrible night, nor the hospitality she received from this good man, to whose kindness she probably owed her life. When the Fronde was over, and she had recovered her property, she determined to show her gratitude by a benefaction in favour of the poor of Pourville. Accordingly, she charged the bailiff of her estate of Hautetot, which was within a short distance of Pourville, to send each year on February 9, the anniversary of her perilous adventures, two hundred large bundles

of firewood to the curé, for distribution among the poor of his parish.

The princess and her companions remained at Pourville until the following afternoon, when, having despatched one of their party to Dieppe, to bid the vessel she had engaged proceed to a little harbour, where Madame de Longueville intended to embark as soon as darkness fell, they again made their way to the coast. The vessel duly arrived, and the duchess was about to go on board, when her messenger came galloping back from Dieppe crying out that they were betrayed. Since their departure, the previous night, Du Plessis-Bellière had sent Du Quesne to the captain of their ship, to offer him a large sum of money if he would deliver Madame de Longueville into his hands; and, had she gone on board, she would have been immediately arrested.

After this fresh disappointment, the unfortunate lady remained in concealment for more than a fortnight, moving from one hiding-place to another, according to the intelligence she received of the movements of her enemies, who were sparing no pains to discover her whereabouts. At the end of that time, she sent a messenger to Havre, who gave out that he came on behalf of a gentleman in danger of arrest for having killed his opponent in a duel, to engage a ship to convey him to Holland. The captain of a Dutch vessel offered his services, and Madame de Longueville, having disguised herself in men's clothes, proceeded to Havre, made her way on board without her identity being suspected, and reached Rotterdam in safety.

Here, "having rid herself of the humiliating marks of her misfortune [*i.e.* male attire] and assumed the majestic apparel which so well became her,"* she sent to inform the Prince and Princess of Orange of her arrival. Their Highnesses received her with the utmost kindness, and offered her an asylum at The Hague. But she declined their hospitality, as she had resolved to proceed to Stenai,†

* Bourgoing de Villefore, *la Véritable Vie d'Anne-Geneviève de Bourbon, Duchesse de Longueville.*

† Situated in the Barrois, on the right bank of the Meuse. It was the first fortified place in the valley of the Meuse after Sedan. The town had successively belonged to the comtes de Rethel, the ducs de Bouillon, the bishops of Verdun, the counts of Luxembourg, and the dukes of Lorraine. In 1632, by the Treaty of Vic, Charles III. of Lorraine gave it to Louis XIII. for four years, as a military dépôt; and, in 1641, it was definitely added to France, by the Treaty of Saint-Germain. The government of Stenai, together with that of the Clermontois, had been conferred on Condé in 1648 (See p. 147 *supra.*)

whither Turenne and Condé's faithful friend and confidant, La Moussaye, had fled after the arrest of the princes, and which had now become the principal rampart of their party.

Before leaving Rotterdam, however, Madame de Longueville, aware of the importance of conciliating public opinion, drew up a justification of her conduct, in the form of a letter to Louis XIV., wherein she recounts all that had happened to her since she had been forced to leave Paris; posing throughout as a victim of Mazarin's enmity, attributing all her actions to necessity alone, and demanding justice for herself and her family. Numerous copies of this epistle were printed in Holland, and clandestinely introduced into France; but they were so rigorously suppressed that the letter appears to have been quite unknown to historians, until a copy was discovered by Victor Cousin, in an old collection of *Mazarinades* for the year 1650, and published by him in the *Journal des Savants*, in November, 1652.

MADAME DE LONGUEVILLE TO LOUIS XIV.

"SIRE,

"As I doubt not that the injustice of my enemies has misrepresented to your Majesty my departure from the kingdom, and that this malice is not unwilling to avail itself of this pretext to increase, by some new persecution, the misfortunes of our House, I have believed myself obliged to render to you* an account of the reasons which compelled me to quit France, in order to prevent your goodness being intercepted in this matter by the usual artifices of the Cardinal Mazarin; and that this man, who has neglected nothing which bad faith and violence were able to suggest to constrain me either to suffer imprisonment or to leave my country, should not be in a position to make my retirement pass for a voluntary action on my part. That is why, Sire, I entreat your Majesty to permit me to inform you of the truth, that, by a sincere account of my conduct, I may make you understand that it was only when reduced to the last extremity that I determined to quit the kingdom; and that I did not choose a banishment which afflicts me grievously, save when I had come near to falling into the hands of an

* Madame de Longueville uses the third person when referring to the King, but, in our translation, we have, to avoid confusion, adopted the second person.

enemy, so much the more dangerous and the more implacable, in that he had just conducted himself with the last degree of violence towards persons to whom every one was aware that he was under the greatest obligation.

"As soon as the Cardinal Mazarin learned that my brothers and my husband had arrived at the Bois de Vincennes, being unwilling to leave a single member of our House unpersecuted by him, he sent me, in the Queen's name, an order to repair to the Palais-Royal; and I was warned, at the same moment, that it was intended to arrest me there. Nevertheless, since it was difficult for me to imagine that his hatred could extend so far as myself, I contented myself with retiring to the house of one of my friends [the Princess Palatine], to inform myself of the truth. But, having ascertained immediately afterwards, that he had caused the Hôtel de Condé to be invested by several companies of the Guards, and that he was determined to employ force to snatch me from the arms of Madame my mother, I perceived that I was no longer in safety in Paris; and I formed the design of coming to Normandy, and proceeded to Rouen. On my arrival, I declared to the gentlemen of the Parlement and the municipal authorities that nothing was further from my thoughts than the desire to bring the least trouble into the province, and that I had only come to seek safety there, since I was unable to choose a more suitable place than that of which my husband was governor, and where the greater part of his property was situated. I begged them to send a deputation to your Majesty, to acquaint you with my resolution, and to be my sureties with you that I should think of nothing during my retirement save tranquillity and repose, and that I should employ myself, in conjunction with them, in retaining the people in their duty and obedience. I did not wish to remain at Rouen, fearing that my sojourn in the capital of the province might be misinterpreted; and I resolved to retire to Dieppe,* a town which had been granted to my husband as a place of security more than thirty years ago, and of which the late king had permitted him to purchase the government for the sum of 100,000 écus. When I arrived there, I begged the nobility who had escorted me thither to retire; I sent to the Queen to assure her Majesty that nothing

* It will be observed that Madame de Longueville says nothing here about her unsuccessful attempt to gain admission to Havre.

could divert me from an absolute obedience, and to beg her to permit me to remain in my château in peace; and I despatched, also, the sheriffs to reiterate to your Majesty, on the subject of my arrival, the assurances of my fidelity.* I confess, Sire, that I persuaded myself that, since what I demanded was just and in conformity with the recent Declarations, which are a solemn pledge of the public security,† the Cardinal Mazarin would not dare to begin to violate them in the person of a princess of your blood. But he—who desired at any price to execute the design which he had formed of arresting me or driving me away, and who was well aware that, owing to the orders which I had issued, he would meet with no resistance in the province—preferring to all other considerations that of satisfying his vanity and his hatred, although my actions gave him no ground for injuring me, and he lacked even a legitimate pretext for attacking me, brought your Majesty away from Paris in an inclement season; made men of war march into a quiet province, at the risk of inciting it to insurrection; denuded the frontiers of Picardy of troops, thus exposing them to the incursions of the enemy; and, finally, abandoned your sacred person to the fury of the pest, and made your Majesty take up your residence at Rouen, at a time when the danger was driving away even persons of the humblest condition. Although he found matters tranquil, he did not omit to deprive my husband of his government, to fill the Vieux-Palais‡ with Swiss, to take possession of Granville and Cherbourg, to take the Pont-de-l'Arche, to seize upon the château of Caen, and to assure himself of the citadel of Havre; putting in these places his own creatures, and, almost in a moment, rendering himself master of the most important province of your realm.

"I should, nevertheless, have been able to remain without fear at Dieppe, which the citadel and the fort commanded absolutely, and where the offers of assistance I received, both from the people of the vicinity and from strangers, and the feebleness of the troops which the Cardinal brought, would have enabled me to do; but, as I had made a firm resolution to persist up to the last

* This is distinctly amusing; the sheriffs, as we have seen, went to Rouen to implore the Queen's protection against Madame de Longueville.

† The Declaration of October 22, 1648, confirmed at the Peace of Rueil.

‡ The Vieux-Palais, or citadel, of Rouen.

extremity in submission and respect, instead of thinking of defending myself, I gave orders everywhere to obey; and I sent anew to the Queen, to confirm the assurance of my fidelity. It was then that the Cardinal Mazarin, thinking to surprise me, sent a *lettre de cachet* commanding me to go to Coulommiers or to Trie; and, although he knew, by my reply, that I was prepared to execute your commands, so soon as my health, which so many fatigues and anxieties had affected, should be somewhat re-established, he refused to give me time; and, on the following day, he despatched the Sieur du Plessis-Bellière to Dieppe, with orders to make every effort to seize my person.

"So soon as the latter arrived, he caused all the citizens to arm themselves; he placed sloops full of soldiers on the sea, to cut off my retreat; and he sent guards to board a frigate, in which he thought that I intended to embark. Perceiving this, and aware that the troops which were approaching on the land side were prepared to besiege the place, I left orders with the Sieur de Montigny to surrender it, and withdrew so opportunely, that two hours after my departure Cardinal Mazarin's guards had taken possession of the only place which remained to me for an asylum. I retired to my husband's estates, which are situated in the district of Caux, and imagined that, since I was residing in a private house, where my sojourn could not give umbrage, I should remain unmolested. But the Cardinal Mazarin, determined on my ruin, sent soldiers to the road which runs between Rouen and Dieppe, and caused every port from Dieppe to Havre, and every ford of the River Seine from Havre to Rouen, to be kept under observation. In this extremity, finding myself hemmed in on all sides, and having discovered a vessel of Holland which was returning thither, I embarked in a roadstead during the night, and in weather so tempestuous that it was easy to understand the peril which I desired to escape must have been very great, since it caused me to despise an extreme danger. By this means, Sire, I have come to your allies [the Dutch], to seek for the repose and the security which neither my innocence nor the faith of the Declarations have been able to preserve for me in my own country, in the face of the hatred of the Cardinal Mazarin. I doubt not that your Majesty will be touched by a persecution so obstinate and so unjust; and, taking into consideration the zeal, the fidelity, and the good

fortune of my brothers and my husband in sustaining the affairs of your Majesty, and in maintaining your authority, both within and without the kingdom, during your minority, you will arrest the course of our misfortunes, and direct your anger against those who, by pernicious counsels, deprive you of such valuable services, plunge the State anew into trouble, and expose it, in the most perilous way, to the invasion of foreign armies. I await this act of justice from your Majesty; and, after desiring for you all kinds of happiness, I remain, Sire, your Majesty's very obedient and very faithful subject and servant.

"ANNE DE BOURBON.

"ROTTERDAM,
"28 *February*, 1650."

This specious epistle excited universal sympathy in favour of the "persecuted" lady, and added to the renown which her conduct during the Parliamentary Fronde had gained for her. From this moment, indeed, she appears to have been generally regarded as the head of the powerful league which, from different quarters, was forming against Mazarin.

CHAPTER XVI

MADAME DE LONGUEVILLE AT STENAI

TOWARDS the end of February, Madame de Longueville set out for Stenai. At Namur, Don Gabriel de Toledo, Minister of the Archduke Leopold, visited the princess, and proposed to her, as the representative of her imprisoned brother, a treaty of alliance with Spain. But Madame de Longueville declined to do anything, except in conjunction with Turenne; and Don Gabriel accordingly begged permission to accompany her to Stenai, where the marshal was awaiting her, with an impatience which, if we are to believe the memoirs of the time, was not entirely due to political considerations.*

Since he had installed himself in this fortress, Turenne,

* "M. de Turenne did not confine himself to directing the political enterprises of this princess; he made her the most tender declarations, which, however, she did not receive with all the gratitude that he expected; for it is said that she jested much about them with La Moussaye, Governor of Stenai."—Bourgoing de Villefore, *la Véritable Vie d'Anne-Geneviève de Bourbon, Duchesse de Longueville.*

who had assumed the title of "lieutenant-general of the army of the King for the deliverance of the princes," had been exceedingly active; collecting troops, writing to all the governors and principal nobles of the neighbouring provinces whom he believed to be dissatisfied with the Court, and making repeated efforts to resume his former ascendency over the German forces which Hervart, the Strasburg banker, had succeeded in detaching from him the previous year. Foiled in this direction by the indefatigable energy of Mazarin, who despatched Hervart to "reform" the officers of the regiments whose loyalty he had reason to suspect, by the same methods which had proved so efficacious before, and spurred on by Madame de Longueville, who seemed ready to go to any lengths to be revenged upon the Cardinal, he turned an only too willing ear to the proposals of the Spanish envoy; and, after a good deal of haggling, a treaty was concluded, on April 13, 1650, between the Court of Spain, on one side, and the princess and Turenne, on the other.

By this treaty, the parties bound themselves not to lay down their arms until the liberation of the princes had been achieved, and "a just and reasonable peace" granted to Spain. The King of Spain agreed to furnish his allies with 200,000 crowns for the raising of troops, 40,000 crowns a month for their maintenance and other expenses of the war, and 60,000 crowns a year for the support of Madame de Longueville and Turenne and their principal adherents. Further, his Catholic Majesty agreed to place under the orders of the marshal a force of 5,000 men, of which 3,000 were to be cavalry, and to furnish garrisons for all fortified places on the frontier which they might capture; the garrisons of those places taken in the interior to be furnished by the army of Turenne. All conquests were to remain, provisionally, in the power of Spain, but were to be returned to France so soon as peace was made.

In signing this document, Madame de Longueville had, of course, rendered herself guilty of high treason—a serious matter, even at this period, and after so many illustrious examples. Conscious of this fact, and comprehending the necessity of justifying her conduct in the eyes of that considerable section of the nation which, while in sympathy with her objects, might look with disapproval on such questionable methods of furthering them, the

duchess strove to place the alliance of the princes with Spain in the most favourable light. She therefore composed a manifesto, which was printed in Brussels and circulated in France and several other countries, wherein, after having recalled all the persecutions of which she and her family were the objects, she called all Europe to witness that, in the face of the outrageous manner in which all forms of justice had been ignored in regard to them, there was no alternative left to her, save a recourse to arms; but that she had taken this step "solely in the interests of France and of all Christendom, in order to secure the supreme blessing of peace." "Being informed," she continues, "that the goodness of the Queen is more blinded than ever by the artifices of her Minister, and that M. le Duc d'Orléans, owing to his facile disposition, abandons himself to those false tribunes of the people [*i.e.* her former friends, the Frondeurs], I recognised that I was the only person to whom means remained of putting an end to so many calamities, and that my conscience, my birth, and my duty compelled me powerfully thereunto. Further, I found myself urged on to undertake so great and glorious an enterprise by the most notable persons of the Church, the Sword, and the Robe, and by the supplications that I received from the principal inhabitants of Paris and of the chief towns of the realm. But I feel especially fortified on this occasion by the affection, the counsel, and the assistance of M. de Turenne, whose merit and valour are on a par with the highest enterprises, and who is equally devoted to the service of the King, the good of France, and the re-establishment of our House." She concludes by justifying the treaty with Spain, on the ground of the urgent necessity of peace, and because his Catholic Majesty had declared his intention to refuse to negotiate with Mazarin, though he would willingly do so with the princes.*

Always very anxious to conciliate public opinion, Madame de Longueville did not rest content with this specious document, but followed it up by several others, all of which are marked by that ability which we should naturally expect from the writer. The two most important are respectively entitled: *Motifs du traité de Madame de Longueville et M. de Turenne avec le roi*

* *Manifeste de Madame de Longueville, à Bruxelles, l'an MDCL.* published by Bourgoing de Villefore.

catholique, and *Article principal du traité que Madame de Longueville et M. de Turenne ont fait avec sa Majesté catholique*. There appeared almost at the same time, at Amsterdam, an *Apologie particulière pour MM. les Princes envoyée par Madame de Longueville aux MM. de Parlement de Paris*.

On his side, Turenne addressed to the Regent a very outspoken letter, in which he recalled the great services rendered by Condé to the State, represented the miseries which civil war must entail, and demanded the release of the princes.

The answer to these effusions was not long delayed. On May 9, the Regent, justly exasperated, caused Madame de Longueville, Bouillon, La Rochefoucauld, Turenne, and their adherents to be declared "disturbers of the public repose, rebels, enemies of the State, and criminals guilty of *lèse-majesté* in the first degree." In consequence, they were deprived of all their honours, titles, dignities, charges, and pensions, and their estates were confiscated and united to the royal demesne. This declaration was presented to the Parlement by the *procureur-général*, and duly registered on May 16.

A few days later, the Dowager Princesse de Condé, who, about the middle of April, had secretly quitted Chantilly and concealed herself in a house in Paris, presented herself before the Parlement, with a petition in which she invoked the article of the Declaration of October, 1648, against arbitrary imprisonment, and claimed the liberty of her sons. The old princess, once so proud and haughty, but now bowed down by grief and shame, condescended to the most humble solicitations. She stopped Gaston d'Orléans as he was entering the Chamber, and, throwing herself at his feet, implored justice for herself and her children; she entreated Beaufort to give her his protection, and sought Retz's good offices, on the ground that "she had the honour of being his kinswoman!" "M. de Beaufort was very much embarrassed," writes the coadjutor, "and I myself nearly died of shame." But, though all were moved by compassion at the sight of this daughter of the Montmorencies a suppliant before them, the Parlement, influenced by the Frondeurs, who were still the implacable enemies of Condé, and indignant at learning of the treaty which Madame de Longueville had concluded with the Spaniards, refused to entertain

her request ; and the sole result of her self-humiliation was that she received permission to take up her residence with her cousin, the Duchesse de Châtillon, at Châtillon-sur-Loing.

While Madame de Longueville and Turenne were intriguing with the Spaniards in the North, the South had broken out into insurrection. On leaving Dieppe, La Rochefoucauld had gone to Verteuil, where he arrived just in time to bid a last farewell to his father, who died on February 8. Under the pretext of giving the deceased nobleman a funeral befitting his high rank, he assembled at Verteuil several hundred gentlemen of the neighbourhood and their retainers, with whose assistance he made an unsuccessful attempt to surprise Saumur, the key of Anjou and Poitou. After this check, he united his fortunes to those of his powerful and turbulent neighbour Bouillon ; and the two dukes determined to link to the cause of the princes that of the citizens of Bordeaux, who had been for months past in a state of semi-revolt against the tyranny of their detested governor, the Duc d'Épernon.

In order to stimulate the zeal of the malcontents, they invited the young Princesse de Condé—who, suddenly displaying an energy and courage hitherto unsuspected, with the aid of Lenet, had escaped, on April 13, from Chantilly, to her husband's château of Montrond, in Berry —to join them with the little Duc d'Enghien. After an adventurous journey, the princess and her son reached Bouillon's château of Turenne in the Limousin, on May 14, where they were received with the firing of cannon and the most enthusiastic acclamations. A hundred covers were laid in the great hall, where they dined ; the health of the illustrious guests and that of the imprisoned princes were drunk, sword in hand, until every one present, from the Duc de Bouillon—who, we are told, drank two or three bumpers in response to a single toast—to the servants were " in a state somewhat approaching intoxication."*

The gentry of the South flocked to offer their services to the princess, who soon found herself at the head of a considerable force ; and, at the end of May, she appeared before Bordeaux. The Parlement and the municipal authorities hesitated to receive her, in the face of the

* Lenet, *Mémoires.*

formal prohibition of the king; but the populace, incited by the agents of Bouillon and La Rochefoucauld, took the matter out of their hands, flung open the gates, and welcomed her with frantic enthusiasm. The following day, leading her son by the hand, *Madame la Princesse* presented herself at the Palais de Justice, to implore the protection of the Parlement. "Act as a father to me, Messieurs, since the Cardinal Mazarin has taken my own father from me," cried the little duke, falling upon his knees; and the magistrates, partly out of compassion for this touching spectacle, and partly out of fear of the mob which was clamouring at the doors, voted that "the dame Princesse de Condé and the seigneur Duc d'Enghien, her son, might reside in that town in safety, under the protection of the laws."

Next day, in spite of the protests of the Parlement, Bouillon and La Rochefoucauld entered the city, borne, so to speak, on the shoulders of the mob. Soon appeared a Spanish envoy, with promises of prompt and powerful assistance from Philip IV.; and Bordeaux and the greater part of Guienne were in open rebellion.

In the latter part of June, Madame de Longueville received a terrible blow. It will be remembered that she had had two daughters, the elder of whom had died in infancy, while the second had been born in the summer of 1647, after the princess's return from Münster. On leaving Paris, in the previous January, to take refuge in Normandy, she had confided Mlle. de Dunois, as the latter was called, together with her two brothers, the Comtes de Dunois and de Saint-Paul, to the care of the Dowager Princesse de Condé, who had taken them with her to Chantilly. Unhappily, some four months later, the little girl was taken seriously ill, and the doctors were unable to save her life.

Madame de Longueville, who was passionately attached to her children, was in despair when the news reached her; her grief being intensified by the fact that she had not been at hand to soothe her daughter's last hours. In misfortune she never failed to turn for consolation to those faithful friends of her childhood, the good Sisters of the Rue Saint-Jacques, and she now wrote to the prioress of the Carmelites, the amiable and learned Judith de Bellefonds (Mère Agnès de Jésus-Maria), the friend and some-

times the counsellor of Bossuet, to express a wish that the child should be interred in the cloisters of the convent, where her sister had been buried, six years before. Here is one of her letters :

"28 *June*, 1650.

"I cannot doubt that you are imploring God's mercy on the state to which I am reduced. He has done me so great a favour in taking her from the world before she has experienced its bitterness, that I have felt nothing because of her loss, save that which one cannot refuse to Nature. I doubt not that you have her among you, and would to God, my dear Mother, that I might have had there a like retreat, or that which He has made me desire so much there!"*

Menaced at once in the heart of the capital by the friends and agents of the princes, who spared no effort to excite the Parlement and the people against him ; in the North, by Madame de Longueville, Turenne, and the Spaniards ; and in the South, by the Princesse de Condé, Bouillon, and La Rochefoucauld, Mazarin took prompt and vigorous measures to defend himself. Leaving the Maréchal du Plessis-Praslin to hold in check the insurrection in the North, he decided to take the King and the Regent to Guienne ; and, on July 4, the Court left Paris, to join the army of the South, which, under the command of that excellent general and fervent Royalist La Meilleraie, soon succeeded in confining the revolt within the walls of Bordeaux.

At Stenai, Madame de Longueville continued to display an energy and an ability worthy of a better cause. While Turenne conducted the military operations, the princess directed all the political part of their common enterprise. She corresponded with the Spanish Minister at Brussels, with La Rochefoucauld and Lenet at Bordeaux, and with the Princess Palatine, who sustained the cause of the princes in Paris. Her secret agents were everywhere : in Flanders, in the camp of the Spaniards, at the little Court of Lorraine, and in every quarter of France, particularly in the capital, spying, eavesdropping, cajoling, corrupting. A number of the letters of these agents are to be found in their Mélanges Clérambault, in the

* She means that she wishes that her desire to become an inmate of the Carmelites had been granted.

Bibliothèque Nationale; and, though the most of them are either wholly or partially in cipher, they reveal a secret-service system which is very remarkable, when we consider that its organiser was a woman without any political training.

Had the operations of the allies in the field been conducted with the same ability and pertinacity which characterized the political intrigues of Madame de Longueville, it would have been impossible for the feeble forces, which were all that the Government could spare for the defence of Paris and the Northern frontier, to make head against them. But it was no easy matter for Turenne and the Spaniards to agree upon a plan of campaign, and, when they at length did so, it was singularly ineffective.

In August, profiting by the Guienne expedition, which had necessitated the withdrawal of a considerable portion of the troops on the Northern frontier, the allies laid siege to and reduced several places in Champagne, including Rethel and Château-Porcien, after which Turenne, having skilfully out-manœuvred Du Plessis-Praslin, succeeded in effecting a junction with the Archduke Leopold, and their united forces began to advance on Paris. Hocquincourt attempted to bar their progress, and entrenched himself at Fismes, on the Vesle; but his camp was surprised and stormed, and he fell back, with some loss, to Soissons; while Boutteville, who commanded Turenne's advance-guard, after pursuing him to the gates of the town, pushed on to La Ferté-Milon, only ten leagues from Paris.

The capital was in a state of consternation, and all military writers seem to be agreed that success was practically certain, if the allies had followed up their victory with rapidity and energy; for the force at the disposal of Du Plessis-Praslin was too weak to risk a battle, unless driven to it by the necessity of preventing the investment of Paris, and a march on Vincennes was unlikely to meet with any serious opposition. Turenne was anxious to push on and liberate the princes, but the Archduke and the Spanish general, the Comte de Fuensaldana, were opposed to such a course. "They preferred," writes the Maréchal d'Estrées, a witness of these events, "to see *Monsieur le Prince* a prisoner, rather than at liberty, because they believed that the divisions which were so

great would continually increase; while that, on the other hand, if the prince were at large, he would turn against them, in order to regain the favour of the King and Monsieur le Cardinal."

While they hesitated, the Ministers in Paris decided the matter for them, by sending the princes to Marcoussis, a château belonging to the Comte d'Entragues, eight leagues from Paris, on the road to Orléans, to reach which it would be necessary for the enemy to cross both the Marne and the Seine, and which was sufficiently strong to resist any assault unsupported by artillery (August 29). Thus deprived of any chance of releasing the prisoners, Turenne consented to fall back from Paris, and after laying siege to and reducing Mouson, a town on the Meuse, some two leagues from Stenai, the Spaniards went into winter quarters, while Turenne with 8,000 men remained on the frontier.

Madame de Longueville was naturally bitterly disappointed at this feeble ending to a campaign whose movements she had followed with so much eagerness; on several occasions paying visits to Flanders, in order to hasten the despatch of troops and supplies to the front. Her mortification was increased by the news from Bordeaux.

After long and fruitless negotiations, the siege of that city had been opened on September 5, and continued for some days without any marked advantage on either side. While the novelty of the affair lasted, the Bordelais displayed the most desperate resolution. Encouraged by the example of the young Princesse de Condé, even the wives of the wealthiest citizens took part in the defence of the town, and carried baskets of earth decorated with bows of ribbon to the trenches. The little Duc d'Enghien rode to the ramparts and cried to his attendants to give him a sword, "that he might go and kill Mazarin." Bouillon and La Rochefoucauld directed the defence-works, and, as if the siege had been a pleasure-party, "regaled the ladies with fruit and sweetmeats and the workmen with wine." Every evening there was dancing under ramparts, and the Princesse de Condé held a court in a brilliantly illuminated gallery. The festivities, indeed, were continuous, notwithstanding that skirmishes, often very sanguinary, took place almost daily.

However, the assistance promised by Spain did not arrive; the better-class citizens soon grew tired of a struggle into which they had been forced against their better judgment; while the bellicose ardour of the populace was cooled by the scarcity of provisions. Moreover, the season of the vintage was approaching, and to lose the chief crop of the year would be nothing short of disaster. Perceiving how matters were tending, the Princesse de Condé resolved to anticipate the surrender which she felt was imminent, and, on September 11, proceeded to the Hôtel de Ville, where the city fathers were assembled in conclave, and informed them that "since she sought only their satisfaction and tranquillity, she would do nothing to hinder the peace which they might be able to conclude with the Cardinal."

The authorities took her at her word, and, as Mazarin was impatient to make an end of the insurrection in the South in order to deal with that of the North, little difficulty was experienced in arranging terms, and on October 1 articles of peace were signed between the Regent and the insurgents.

By this treaty, a full and complete amnesty was granted the Bordelais, on condition that the King and his troops were admitted to the town; the Princesse de Condé, Bouillon, La Rochefoucauld, and their followers were permitted to retire to their estates unmolested, in the full enjoyment of all dignities and offices which they held, on the promise that they would lay down their arms "and continue henceforth in fidelity and obedience;" while it was agreed that Épernon should be temporarily suspended from his duties as governor of the province. The treaty contained no mention of the princes, although the revolt had been made in their name and for their deliverance.

Guienne pacified, Mazarin brought the Court to Fontainebleau, where he completed his preparations for an expedition to Champagne, by which he intended to overwhelm the only enemy left him to contend with. All the hopes of Madame de Longueville were now reduced to the army of Turenne, and to the intrigues which she had not ceased to carry on in Paris, and which she pressed forward with renewed vigour during the remainder of the autumn. Her friends and her numerous agents kept her well in-

formed of all that was happening in the Court, in the Parlement, in the salons, and even in the literary resorts, which were not without their influence on public opinion; and she had the satisfaction of learning that her unceasing efforts on behalf of the imprisoned princes were beginning to bear fruit, and that, though worsted in the field, their party was daily gathering strength in the capital.

When the prisoners were removed from Vincennes to Marcoussis, the sympathy which their long confinement and the heroism of the Princesse de Condé had gradually aroused gave way to indignation. People now began to declare that *Monsieur le Prince* was a martyr, and crowds flocked to Vincennes to see the room in which he had slept, the courtyard in which he had taken exercise, and the violets which he had watered with his own hands.* Then, in the middle of November, came the news that the princes, under an escort of 1,200 men, commanded by the Comte d'Harcourt, had been removed to Havre; and the popular indignation, artfully stimulated by Madame de Longueville's agents, redoubled in intensity.

On the other hand, Mazarin's nominal allies, the Frondeurs, were cold in their support, for, though much had been given them, they were still dissatisfied, and they distrusted the Cardinal as much as he distrusted them, and suspected him of planning to make the Government so strong that it could dispense with their support. The removal of the princes to Havre was viewed by them with considerable alarm, since at Havre they would be completely under the Minister's control, and it would be possible for him to make terms secretly with Condé at any time. Retz, too, had a grievance of his own against the Government, and had become as great a source of embarrassment to it as when he had been in open opposition.

The coadjutor had set his heart on obtaining a cardinal's hat, which, if we are to believe his own statement, the Queen had offered to obtain for him as a condition of his alliance against Condé; and, in the late summer of 1650, when the Court was in Guienne, he formally demanded his nomination for the next cardinalate given to France.

* One day, his surgeon found Condé tending some flower-pots. "Look, Dalencé," said the prince, "who would have believed that I should be watering violets while my wife is making war!"—The Duc d'Aumale, *Histoire des Princes de Condé.*

The request, however, was one which Mazarin was determined not to grant. He detested Retz, and knew that the only result of his elevation would be to make him the more dangerous, since he would then have nothing either to hope for or fear from the Government. Moreover, once invested with the purple, there would be no bounds to his restless ambition, and he would in all probability aspire to supplant Mazarin in the office of first Minister. Madame de Chevreuse wrote, urging the Cardinal to grant the nomination, and pointing out that, by so doing, he would assure himself not only of the support of the coadjutor, but of that of Orléans as well, over whose facile mind Retz had, since the disgrace of La Rivière, obtained considerable influence.

But Mazarin was resolved that no argument should induce him to consent, though, anxious to avoid anything like a rupture with the coadjutor during his absence from Paris, he excused himself from giving a definite answer to his request until the return of the Court from Guienne, and endeavoured to pacify him for the disappointment which awaited him by an offer of the payment of his debts and several rich abbeys.

But Retz was far too astute an antagonist to be cajoled in this manner; and scarcely had the Court arrived at Fontainebleau, than Madame de Chevreuse sought an interview with the Cardinal, and, on behalf of her friend, pressed for an immediate answer. The duchess repeated the arguments she had used in the letter she had written Mazarin some weeks before, and pointed out that if, exasperated by his refusal, Retz were to ally himself with the Princess Palatine, the Duc de Nemours,* and the numerous party which supported Condé, it would be impossible for the Cardinal to make head against such powerful enemies. She also gave him to understand that Retz's desertion of his cause would be the signal for her own as well.

Mazarin, still determined not to yield, but, desirous to avoid offending the duchess, professed himself only too anxious to oblige her and the coadjutor, but dwelt upon the reluctance of the Queen and the hostility of

* Charles Amédée de Savoie. (See p. 47 *supra*). He had not declared openly for the princes after the events of January 18, presumably because he feared to be separated from Madame Châtillon, of whom he was passionately enamoured; but he seems to have been very active in their support in Paris.

several of the Ministers, and ended by offering to submit the matter to the Council, which course would enable him, he fondly hoped, to throw the odium of a refusal upon others. The Council, as he had, of course, foreseen, pronounced strongly against the pretensions of Retz; but Mazarin, always anxious to temporise, caused the prelate to be informed that a definite decision would be deferred until the Regent's return to Paris.

Retz did not allow himself to be deceived by this disguised refusal, and, from that moment, the unnatural alliance between Mazarin and the Fronde was at an end.

For the moment, however, Mazarin was more occupied with the situation on the frontier than with the intrigues of Paris. Having assured himself that he had taken all measures necessary for a successful campaign, on December 1, he quitted the capital, and arrived four days later at Rheims, where he displayed great activity in superintending the concentration of troops and the provisioning of the army, insisting that the smallest details should be discussed before him, and presiding in person at all the military councils. Many a long year had passed since he had exchanged the sword for the *soutane*, but he had not forgotten the lessons of his youth. "Seeing that he was hated by the grandees of the kingdom and by the people," says Madame de Motteville, "he tried to preserve for himself the good-will of the soldiers. His principle was to go to the army as frequently as possible, and always to carry money to it, taking care to provide the soldiers with all their little necessaries. This year he had brought them great-coats, to protect them against the cold, which was already severe. He kept three or four tables, where he entertained the officers, in order to win them to himself by good cheer, showing himself, besides, kinder and more affable than ever he was in the Queen's cabinet."

On December 9, Du Plessis-Praslin began the siege of Rethel, which had been taken by Turenne in the preceding August. The marshal had left there a garrison of 1,800 men, under the command of Degli Ponti, an Italian engineer who enjoyed a great reputation. In order to stimulate the zeal of the investing army, Mazarin came himself to the French camp, and the siege was pressed with such vigour that, on the 13th, Degli Ponti, notwithstanding that he had received intelligence that Turenne was advancing to his assistance, capitulated. It was the

general belief that the Cardinal's gold had been even more efficacious in expediting the surrender than the cannon of the besiegers; and it is certainly difficult to reconcile the ineptitude of the defence with the reputation of the governor.

On the following day, Turenne arrived, at the head of a force composed of Spaniards, Lorrainers, and partisans of the princes, but finding that the place had surrendered, deemed it more prudent to retire than risk a battle with a victorious army considerably superior to his own in numbers. Du Plessis-Praslin followed and came up with him between the villages of Somme-Py and Semide, about four leagues from Rethel. The battle which followed was for a while fiercely contested, but it resulted in a complete victory for the French. Almost the whole of the infantry of the allies were killed or taken prisoners, while all their cannon and baggage fell into the hands of the victors. Among the prisoners, were Boutteville and the general commanding the Spaniards, Don Estavan de Gamarra. Turenne himself, although his horse had been wounded in several places, succeeded in effecting his escape, and gained Bar-le-Duc, whence he made his way to Montmédy, where he rallied the scattered remnants of his army. He was, however, of course, powerless to offer any further resistance to the victorious French, who proceeded to recapture Château-Porcien and the other places in Champagne which had been taken by the enemy during the summer and autumn. At the end of the year there was not a Spaniard or a rebel left in the province, except at Stenai, whither Turenne had retired, and the siege of which it had been decided to postpone until the spring, although by that time Mazarin confidently anticipated that peace would be re-established.

CHAPTER XVII

THE FALL OF MAZARIN

THE news of the crushing defeat of her party at Rethel reached Madame de Longueville at a moment when she was already reduced to the deepest distress by a calamity of another kind. Her mother, the Dowager Princesse de Condé, although she was still

only in her fifty-fourth year, and had hitherto enjoyed excellent health, had not been able to survive the misfortunes of her House. As sensible to the present disgrace of the children whom she so fondly loved as she had been to their former triumphs, she had grieved over it to such a degree, that she became seriously ill, and died on December 2, 1650, at Châtillon-sur-Loing, the residence of her cousin, the Duchesse de Châtillon, whither, as we have already mentioned, she had obtained permission to retire.

During her last days, the old princess had fallen very much under the influence of Madame de Châtillon, an unprincipled and avaricious woman, who divided her time between amorous intrigues with the handsome Duc de Nemours—which she was always very careful to conceal from Condé, who, since the death of her husband in the attack upon Charenton, in the first Fronde, had been her titular lover—and other intrigues, which had for their object the favour of the princess-dowager and a share in her will. In this, she was but too successful. "The Duchesse de Châtillon," says Lenet, "who was the most astute woman in France, had so well understood how to employ her adroit and subtle mind and her agreeable and insinuating manners, as to make herself so completely mistress of the princess-dowager, that she saw only with her eyes and spoke only with her mouth."

It was with the idea of separating the old princess from all the friends and servants who might endeavour to frustrate her designs, that the duchess had persuaded her to take up her residence at Châtillon-sur-Loing; and, while there, she was careful not to permit any one to approach her, except Madame de Bourgneuf, the *gouvernante* of Madame de Longueville's children, and *Madame la Princesse's* confessor, a worldly and intriguing abbé named Cambiac, both of whom she had succeeded in gaining over to her cause. The outcome of these manœuvres was that the dowager, to the intense indignation of Madame de Longueville, bequeathed to Madame de Châtillon nearly the whole of her jewellery—in itself a respectable fortune—and the revenues for life of several estates, including that of Merlou, or Mello, near Pontoise.

During her last years, the old princess had been exceedingly devout, and, after her husband's death, had at one time contemplated retiring altogether to the Carmelites of the Rue Saint-Jacques, where, by her directions, her

remains were now interred. A day or two before her death, she sent for Anne of Austria's pious confidante, Madame de Brienne, whose daughter, now the Marquise de Gamaches, had been one of the most intimate friends of Madame de Longueville's youth,* and said to her: "My dear friend, tell that poor miserable woman at Stenai the state in which you see me, that she may learn how to die."†

A letter from the Prioress of the Carmelites‡ informed Madame de Longueville of the loss which she had sustained. Her grief was intense, for she could not disguise from herself that her own reckless ambitions, and the evil counsels which she had given her brother Condé, were indirectly responsible for her mother's death. In reply, she wrote the following touching letter, "wherein," observes Victor Cousin, "having no longer a rôle to sustain, she lays bare her whole soul, and in which we find profound affliction, secret remorse mingled with a crushing grief, and exquisite sensibility combined with a style lofty and naturally distinguished."

MADAME DE LONGUEVILLE TO THE PRIORESS OF THE CARMELITES OF THE GRAND COUVENT AT PARIS.

14 *December.*

"I received yesterday, at the same time, your three letters, of which the last informs me of our common loss; and it is my silence, rather than my words, which must make you understand my grief. I am overwhelmed, my very dear Mother, and this blow finds me with no more strength in my soul. There are circumstances so cruel, that I cannot think of them and live, and, nevertheless, I can think of nothing else. This poor princess died in the midst of the misfortunes of her House, abandoned by all her children, and attended only by the grief and anguish which has tormented her unhappy life. For, in a word, it was the sufferings of the mind which occasioned those of the body, and I hold that death to be harder than if it had been caused by physical pains and afflictions. She will leave eternal sorrow in my mind, and to such a degree that I feel all other calamities more bitterly than I should otherwise do, and shall no longer be capable of

* See p. 48, *supra.* † Motteville.

‡ Mère Agnès de Jésus-Maria (Judith de Bellefonds).

knowing happiness, even should any come to me, since my poor mother will never have tasted it before feeling the bitterness of her last hour. I am acquainted with none of the circumstances which accompanied it, and I address myself to you, to beg you to inform me of them very exactly. It is only in afflicting myself that I must find relief. Such a recital will produce that sad effect, and that is why I ask it of you; since, indeed, you can well understand that it cannot be repose which follows such grief as mine, but misery secret and everlasting. This also I am prepared for, and to bear it in the sight of God and of those of my sins which have laid so heavy a hand upon my mother. He will perhaps accept such a humiliation and the chains of my profound wretchedness. You will assuage them somewhat, if I can hope from your friendship the share of it which the person whom we mourn possessed, and it will be to me her most precious inheritance. I venture to assure you, and I say this to all those of your community to whom she was dear, that if I am unworthy of what I ask, owing to the little I give, I merit it at least by my affection for you, which is increased, it seems to me, by the new and sad connection between us which our loss has brought about.

"Adieu, my dear Mother; my tears blind me; if it were the will of God that they should occasion the termination of my life, they would seem to me rather the instruments of my welfare than the effects of my misfortune. Adieu once more, my dear Mother; be assured, both you and all our friends, that I inherit the affection which she who is no more bore to you, and that I shall behold her all my life, in beholding you."*

At the end of the year 1650, Madame de Longueville seemed to have reached the last degree of misfortune. She had lost not only her daughter and her mother, but also her old and valued friend, La Moussaye, the governor of Stenai, who had died from what cause does not appear to be known in the previous November; the captivity of her brothers and her husband, which had already lasted more than a year, had become more rigorous than ever;

* Bibliothèque Nationale; *Recueil de Marguerite Perier*, published by Victor Cousin, *Correspondance de Madame de Longueville avec la Princesse Palatine, etc.* This letter had been previously published by Bourgoing de Villefore, but with several alterations in the original text.

the insurrection in Guienne, from which she had expected so much, had been quelled; while, in the North, the forces of Turenne had been scattered to the winds, and she expected to find herself, ere many weeks had passed, closely besieged in Stenai. Suddenly the wheel of Fortune turned; intrigue succeeded where force had so signally failed; the victorious Mazarin fell; and Madame de Longueville found herself mistress of the situation.

It will be remembered that when, on the night of the arrest of the princes, the Court had sought to apprehend Madame de Longueville, she had been enabled to escape through the good offices of the Princess Palatine, who had concealed her for some hours in a house belonging to her in the Faubourg Saint-Germain, and had subsequently lent her her own coach to fly to Normandy. Between the two ladies the closest friendship existed, and, as the Princess Palatine was devoted to the interests of the House of Condé, Madame de Longueville had entrusted her with the management of the affairs of her party in Paris during her exile, and maintained with her an active correspondence.

Anne de Gonzague, Princess Palatine—or "the Palatine," as she is generally called—is one of the most striking personalities of an age celebrated for its remarkable women. One day, during the conferences on the Île des Faisans which preceded the Peace of the Pyrenees, Mazarin observed to Don Luis de Haro, the Spanish Prime Minister: "You are very fortunate, you Spaniards: your women only concern themselves with love-affairs. In France, it is not the same; and we have three who would be capable of governing or subverting three great kingdoms: the Duchesse de Longueville, the Princess Palatine, and the Duchesse de Chevreuse."

Without Madame de Longueville's heroic instincts, or the courage and audacity of Madame de Chevreuse, the Palatine, nevertheless, possessed great qualities. She had inherited that talent for political intrigue for which her family had been for generations noted, and she well knew how to turn it to account. Unlike other feminine politicians of her time, she never permitted her judgment to be swayed by passion or prejudice. In the labyrinth of intrigue amid which she moved, she was always quick to discover in every situation the end for which she must strive, and she pursued it with an activity, an address,

and a persistency which evoked the admiration of all, and caused Retz to declare that "he believed she had as great a capacity for state affairs as Elizabeth, Queen of England."

The unfortunate termination of her romance with the volatile Duc de Guise, of which we have spoken elsewhere, might have ruined a woman of less strength of character; but Anne de Gonzague accepted her fate with that good sense and firmness which always distinguished her, and, finding it impossible to persuade the duke to acknowledge her as his wife, resumed her maiden name, reappeared at Court, and, in 1645, married Edward of Bavaria, one of the numerous sons of the unfortunate Frederick V., Elector Palatine. The monotonous life of a petty German Court, however, was but little to her taste; and, having persuaded her husband that their common interests would best be served by her residence in the French capital, she returned to Paris, where she divided her time between gallantry and politics.

As a younger daughter, she had received a very moderate dowry, and had known the humiliation of dependence on the generosity of her elder sister, Marie, Queen of Poland.* She therefore desired, above all things, to become rich, and exacted a high price for her services. Nevertheless, though mercenary to the verge of avarice, she never betrayed a friend or failed in her word,† and Madame de Longueville had in her the most implicit confidence.

Between Madame de Longueville, at Stenai, and the Princess Palatine, in Paris, a considerable number of letters seemed to have passed: one written by the latter lady is referred to as "the twentieth." But, unfortunately, only four of these—two from the pen of each princess—have been preserved. They, however, are extremely interesting, containing as they do, not only valuable information concerning the party intrigues of the time, but also interesting revelations on the character and occupations of the two noble friends and the morals of the seventeenth century. The letters are, in parts, very obscure, as, notwithstanding all precautions, there was always considerable risk of their being intercepted; and this fact

* Wife of Ladislas IV., and afterwards of his brother, John Casimir, Kings of Poland.

† "I have seen her in faction; I have seen her in the cabinet; and I have found her equally sincere."—Retz.

caused the writers to speak of their affairs in an enigmatical way, in order to baffle the curiosity of any unauthorised persons into whose hands the correspondence might fall. Sometimes they give to themselves, and to the various persons to whom they refer, fictitious names, for the most part drawn from the fashionable romances of the time, particularly the *Grand Cyrus* of Mlle. de Scudéry; while at others they make use of a cipher, which has baffled even the industry of Victor Cousin, to whom we are indebted for the extracts we are about to give.*

The letters are divided into two parts—one of which treats of politics and the other of gallantry—designated respectively as "bagatelles" or "worldly affairs," and as "the sacred mysteries" or "the things of religion." "The two fair ladies," observes Victor Cousin, "speak of the latter with all the confidence of friendship and with the abandon and assurance of two princesses. They deride those who make love to them through interested motives or from a desire to add to their importance. They insist on devotion, but they show themselves not insensible to it. Madame de Longueville is wholly occupied with La Rochefoucauld, although she does not neglect to employ her charms to win others to the good cause, reserving to herself the right of dismissing them as soon as they become importunate. As for the Palatine, it is known that she had many lovers, but we are ignorant of their names. It is believed, however, that about 1650 she had a very intimate connection with the Chevalier Henri de la Vieuville, son of the Marquis de la Vieuville, sometime Comptroller-General. It is he to whom the Palatine refers under the name of Orondate, and whom she declares that she prefers to Philidaspe, one of the characters of the *Grand Cyrus*, probably the Marquis de Villars, father of the celebrated marshal, successively Ambassador to Savoy and Spain, and husband of the accomplished Madame de Villars, so well known by her letters from Spain."

THE PRINCESS PALATINE TO MADAME DE LONGUEVILLE.

"It seems to me that we have spoken enough of worldly affairs [politics], and that it is quite time to think also of those of rèligion [gallantry]. Believe, then, as though

* *Correspondance de Madame de Longueville avec la Princesse Palatine*, etc.—*Journal des Savants*, 1853.

it were an article of faith, that the idea that you entertain on the subject of Philidaspe [the Marquis de Villars] is a veritable temptation of the devil; for he is altogether excommunicated, and, further, I answer you that he was a traitor in disguise, who had never any true religious sentiment, and thought only of his own interest, without a shadow of devotion. . . . It is therefore absolutely true that there is nothing in the world between Élise [the Princess Palatine]* and him, and they are now of altogether contrary religions. It is true that Orondate [the Chevalier de la Vieuville] adopts a very different course from that of Philidaspe; and, indeed, it would not be impossible for him to become a great saint, since the pious actions which he performs every day have no equal, and he appears to me to have so much zeal and innocence, that we may see him one day with a halo of glory [that is to say, her accepted lover]. Nevertheless, they will be in no hurry as yet to give him the benefice, and, if he succeeds in the end in obtaining it, you shall be advised immediately. That does not mean that I see no probability of it, provided that he does not diminish in any way his devotion."

Having been so frank with Madame de Longueville, the Princess Palatine had naturally the right to expect the exile of Stenai to give her her entire confidence with regard to her own love-affairs, and we find the duchess discussing these delicate matters with equal freedom. Although Madame de Longueville's heart was entirely occupied by La Rochefoucauld, this does not seem to have prevented her from indulging in occasional flirtations. Her position at Stenai, indeed, was a very difficult one, surrounded as she was by young nobles, some of whom had risked life and fortune for the sake of her *beaux yeux;* and it would have been impossible for her to repulse their admiration too harshly, without the risk of offending them and of injuring the cause of her party. At the same time, she was always very careful to place a limit to her complacency, and, when her admirers became too importunate, she felt obliged to inform them of the futility of their hopes, and to recommend that they should strive to forget their disappointment amid the clash of arms. Thus, she informs her friend that she had been compelled to send

* In the *Grand Cyrus* of Mlle. de Scudéry, Élise is the confidante of Mandane, who is, of course, Madame de Longueville.

to the army the Marquis de Tracy,* who had persecuted her a little too much, as well as the Chevalier de Gramont, the hero of Anthony Hamilton's *Mémoires*, then a young man of twenty-nine, who had conceived, or pretended that he had conceived, for her a most violent passion. Tracy, if we are to believe the Maréchal du Plessis-Praslin, was so mortified by the princess's rejection of his advances, that he soon afterwards deserted the cause of Condé and returned to that of the Court. But, though Madame de Longueville does not appear to have any fear of his ill-humour carrying him so far as that, she is afraid that he may "tell extravagant tales" to her mother, the Dowager Princesse de Condé, and bring upon her a severe reprimand. Accordingly, she begs the Princess Palatine to do everything possible to prevent a meeting between them.

MADAME DE LONGUEVILLE TO THE PRINCESS PALATINE.

"29th *November*.

"To leave trifling matters [politics and war] and to come to one more serious, which is connected with our eternal welfare [gallantry]. I never for a moment perceived that La Moussaye had any intention of becoming of the same religion as La Rochefoucauld [*i.e.* her adorer]. You can well understand that I should not tell you this for the sake of deceiving you, if it had been the case, and I again swear to you that nothing is more false. Certain little things passed between him and Tracy which might have caused people to believe it;† but, on my honour, there was nothing As for Tracy, he did wonders, so long as he was in the temple, that is to say, with those little miracles which are found to be false when they are carefully investigated—mere superstitions of ignorant monks—but which have the appearance of being at least inspired by some devotion. . . . It is most necessary that Bélinde [her mother, the Dowager Princesse de Condé] should not see Tracy. Endeavour therefore, I entreat you, to prevent it, this poor creature being so enslaved by his infatuation,

* He was a member of a family of Scotch origin which had settled in Normandy, and he had served with distinction under Condé. After the arrest of the princes, he joined Madame de Longueville in Normandy, and followed her to Holland and thence to Stenai.

† Presumably, La Moussaye, as the governor of Stenai and one of Madame de Longueville's oldest and most intimate friends, had thought it his duty to rebuke the importunities of Tracy.

that he may tell her extravagant tales, of which it is well that Bélinde should be ignorant. Let me know what reasons you employ to prevent this interview, and what you have given Bélinde to account for the separation between Tracy and the wife of Ciaxa [Madame de Longueville], in order that I may conform to what you have told her. . . . As for Artemas [the Chevalier de Gramont] he is a little more enlightened, and if he cannot pass for being possessed of the true heavenly knowledge, one can at least believe that it is a temptation of the devil which causes him to see phantoms, and makes him take them for divine visions. They [Tracy and Gramont] have left the confessor they had chosen [Madame de Longueville], rather ill-satisfied with him; for this good Father had publicly exposed the weakness of Tracy and had effectually conjured the phantoms of Artemas; for, as he took them for angels of light, he was much enamoured of them. There were a hundred little follies in the conduct of these good souls; but we shall not hear them spoken of during the whole of Advent, since they have changed their convent and joined Turenne; so that, La Moussaye having departed in another fashion,* Père Hesmond† has every reason to be content."

If the portion of Madame de Longueville's letter which we have just cited is consecrated to affairs of gallantry, the earlier part is mainly political, and much less obscure, and reveals the writer under a different aspect. The Princess Palatine appears to have recognised, ever since the pacification of Bordeaux, the futility of further armed resistance to the Government, and that the only hope of obtaining the liberation of the princes lay either in a reconciliation between their party and Mazarin, and a return on the part of the House of Condé to its policy before 1649, or in an alliance with the Frondeurs and the Parlement to destroy the Cardinal. She inclined strongly to the former course, and in a letter to which Madame de Longueville's is a reply, but which has unfortunately not been preserved, had urged her to consent to it, at the same time pointing out that, in the event of this alliance not being possible,

* La Moussaye, as we have already mentioned, had died in November, 1650.

† No doubt La Rochefoucauld, who had apparently taken umbrage at the attentions which Tracy, Gramont, and La Moussaye were reported to be paying to Madame de Longueville.

a treaty with the Frondeurs was the only alternative. To cement the latter alliance, she suggested a marriage between the Prince de Conti and Anne de Rohan, second daughter of Madame de Montbazon, for which overtures had already been made by the last-named lady, or, in default of that, one between the prince and Mlle. de Chevreuse. Madame de Longueville, however, was of a different opinion. She had the strongest aversion to negotiate with the Cardinal, unless absolutely forced to do so, and, gauging the feelings of Mazarin by her own, she expresses her conviction that he would never resign himself to a reconciliation with the party of the princes, unless to prevent an alliance between it and the Frondeurs; and it would, therefore, be wiser to open negotiations with the latter, by which means they would either compel the Cardinal to treat with the princes on terms advantageous to them, or, if he remained contumacious, be able to compass his overthrow. To bring this about, she declares herself willing to consent to the marriage between the Prince de Conti and Anne de Rohan, although she entertained a strong aversion to it, and would prefer one between her brother and Mlle. de Chevreuse, notwithstanding the somewhat dubious reputation which that damsel enjoyed.

"... I am more favourably inclined," she writes, "to the other affair of which you speak to me; and the marriage of Mlle. Trasibule [evidently Mlle. de Chevreuse], although it can only be a clandestine one, would seem to me to be of the greatest importance. *It is therefore to this that we must adhere,* if that be possible, and remove from the mind of this fair damsel all the scruples which so bold an action might arouse there. She will not be the first who has risked something of her reputation in order to secure an establishment for life; and, further, the majority of her relatives will support her, and her lovers, particularly Patemas [the Duc d'Orléans] and 95 [Retz],* will of course be constrained to hold their tongues, on account of the influence of her husband, who will place her in a position where she need not fear slander. In short, I counsel this marriage, however clandestine it may be, and, if it is desired, I will even subscribe to it."

* In Victor Cousin's opinion, it is not necessary to take too literally the word "lover," as applied to Orléans; but the nature of the relations between Mlle. de Chevreuse and the coadjutor was a matter of common knowledge.

Under date December 21, that is to say, soon after the news of the Battle of Rethel had reached Paris, the Palatine returns to the charge, and again presses Madame de Longueville to consent to negotiations being opened with Mazarin; pointing out the advantages to be derived from such an alliance, and assuring her that she is informed by common friends of herself and the Court party that the Cardinal will not be unwilling to treat with the princes. At the same time, taking into consideration the uncertainty of the political situation and the desire of the princes to secure at any price the termination of their captivity, which had already lasted nearly a year, she proposed to keep the Frondeurs as a second string to her bow, and advises that negotiations should be begun simultaneously with them, though without committing themselves too far. She begs Madame de Longueville to send her her orders on the subject, and, knowing well how entirely her friend was dominated by La Rochefoucauld, tells her that she has sent to Poitou to secure his authority to treat with the Fronde, and to beg that he himself will come to Paris, to treat with the Court:

THE PRINCESS PALATINE TO MADAME DE LONGUEVILLE.

"We must take care that this negotiation is shared with no one but La Rochefoucauld, and I hope that we shall bring it to a conclusion. I await news from him on this matter; the lay brother [Gourville] has left to-day [for Poitou], and ought to return immediately. If the business with the Cardinal advances, it is necessary for La Rochefoucauld to come here to conclude it. You can well understand that, in making the Cardinal see that, to secure the Prince de Conti, it is essential for him to possess the friendship of La Rochefoucauld, he will understand that that will not injure him with Madame de Longueville, on whose support he bases his principal hopes. If this affair succeeds, it is certain that Madame de Longueville will derive great advantages from both sides, and La Rochefoucauld, also, far more than through an alliance with the Frondeurs, whose help, although it should not be rejected, will not produce similar results, unless after many difficulties and perhaps after long years.

"We must, of course, make use of the Frondeurs, if we are unable to dispense with them; but we shall do it in

a way which will not deprive us of the means of accepting, without failing in our word, the liberty of the princes, when we are able to obtain it from the Cardinal. . . I have warned La Rochefoucauld of everything that is happening here ; I await news from him in regard to the manner in which he desires me to enter into the treaty with the Frondeurs, and what promises he wishes me to make, on his behalf, to the coadjutor and Beaufort. It is believed that the Cardinal will arrive here to-morrow or Monday. His return will without doubt produce some great change ; for it is held for certain that Monseigneur le Duc d'Orléans is now entirely for the Frondeurs, and, if he does not change within the next few days, he must destroy the Cardinal altogether, or the Cardinal must commit some act of violence against the coadjutor and Beaufort. The latter are very much on their guard just at present."

Madame de Longueville, however, had not waited for the above letter to decide that the time had now arrived when she could no longer afford to consult her own inclinations ; and, on the morrow of the defeat of Rethel, she wrote to the Princess Palatine, giving her full power to act as she thought best and to treat with the Court :

"*December* 16th, 1650.

"I learn at the hour in which I am writing to you of the defeat of M. de Turenne and of the taking of Rethel. I expect that I shall know to-morrow that Stenai is to be besieged ; for, since Madame de Longueville has only that to fear, one cannot doubt that it will come to pass. . . I have received your letter of December 2, which was the twentieth letter, and I expect that Gourville will have brought you the answer you desired from me on the subject of the Cardinal. I sent by him a letter of authority for the Cardinal,* before even I knew that that would be necessary. It will be for you to see what can be done, since, for myself, *I will subscribe to everything upon which you may resolve.* I am so ashamed to charge you, as I am doing, with all the unhappy destiny of a ruined House, which brings misfortune upon all who do not declare against it ; and I do not accept, save with the most intense

* Presumably, a letter accepting the responsibility of any agreement which La Rochefoucauld and the Princess Palatine might enter into with the Minister.

reluctance, the means that your kindness proposes to me of emerging from all my miseries, since I fear that, in the end, the part which you deign to take will give you an important share in them. In good truth, my fears on this subject redouble ; and I would desire that Fortune had already overwhelmed me, so that I might believe that you were out of the danger which my fatal friendship causes you to incur. I do not tell you that it makes you now the one solace of my woes, since I should fear that your compassion would augment, which alone can bring you more misfortune than any evil star under which you may have been born.

". . . M. de Turenne has lost few people, that is to say, few troops ;* but, according to report, many officers. Philip, Prince Palatine,† is killed, and it is said that M. de Boutteville and several others have been taken prisoners ; but we do not know any particulars as yet. It is believed that the French will push forward and will advance straight upon Stenai, so that Madame de Longueville will be constrained to a second flight. I leave to you, if you will be so kind, the care of sending my news in detail to M. d'Hesmond [La Rochefoucauld], for I am only able to write this note. Adieu ; believe that, whatever I become, I shall always be more yours than my own. All my affairs do not prevent me from thinking constantly of what you must do soon ;‡ it gives me more anxiety than my own affairs, for you constitute at present all the consolation of my life."

At the end of December, 1650, La Rochefoucauld arrived in Paris. As, after the surrender of Bordeaux, he had been banished to his estates and was liable to be arrested, if discovered in the capital, he came with the utmost secrecy, and remained concealed in the house of the Princess Palatine. That lady had already begun negotiations with the Frondeurs, who, well aware that an alliance between Mazarin and the party of the princes would mean

* Madame de Longueville was misinformed ; 3,000 prisoners had been taken and Turenne's own regiment, which had refused to surrender, had been almost cut to pieces.

† The younger brother of Edward of Bavaria, husband of Anne de Gonzague, seventh son of the Elector Palatine.

‡ According to Victor Cousin, this refers to the approaching accouchement of the Princess Palatine.

their own political extinction, were eager to anticipate him. But the Palatine, as we have seen, greatly preferred, for the princes and for herself, an alliance with the Court; and, having obtained full powers from Madame de Longueville to treat with Mazarin on behalf of her brothers, was determined to use every endeavour to persuade the Cardinal to renew with Condé that alliance which, up to the end of 1648, had been of such service to both, and from which the Crown and France had derived such immense advantages. Only in the event of the failure of these negotiations, did she intend to conclude an alliance with the Fronde.

In her task, the princess was loyally seconded by La Rochefoucauld, although as we may suppose, from what we already know of that nobleman's character and aims, his motives were far from disinterested.

"The ways of the Frondeurs," says Madame de Motteville, "did not please him; that of the Court would have been very agreeable to him. He believed with reason that, by bringing about a renewal of peace and union between the Prince de Condé and the Minister, he himself would obtain some high reward; and he saw with pleasure that, in this instance, his interest and his duty went together." He accordingly caused Mazarin to be informed that he desired to see him, and asked for a safeguard for his person, written by his own hand, which he easily obtained. A secret interview between them took place in the Cardinal's apartments in the Palais-Royal, to which La Rochefoucauld had been admitted by a private staircase, and the duke used every persuasion to induce Mazarin to set the princes at liberty and ally himself with their party. "Without revealing to him the depth of the mystery, he told him repeatedly that he would soon see a great persecution break out against him, and said all he could to convince him that danger threatened him. But the Minister, who feared the Prince de Condé's audacity, Madame de Longueville's intrigues, and the ambition of the Duc de la Rochefoucauld himself, would not listen to his warnings, and gave him no definite answer."

It is somewhat difficult to understand why Mazarin, who, in the midst of the complicated intrigues which surrounded him, had always shown such remarkable astuteness, should have hesitated to accept the proposi-

tions of La Rochefoucauld. Probably, he overrated the effect of the victory of Rethel, and the triumphant campaign of the royal army on the frontier, upon internal politics; and imagined that, after having so signally worsted his enemies in the field, he could afford to ignore for a while their machinations in the capital, and follow his personal inclinations, which were as strongly opposed to subjecting himself again to the insolent dictation of Condé as to gratifying the ambition of a man as turbulent and dangerous as he considered Retz. He appears to have imagined, besides, that ere long he would be able to detach the vacillating Orléans from his alliance with the Frondeurs; while, singularly enough, though he had refused to be guided by the counsels of Madame de Chevreuse, he continued to trust her, and was confident that she would refuse to take part in any intrigues against himself. However that may be, it is certain that Mazarin's cunning for once failed him, and that, by neglecting to decide definitely, as he had twelve months before, between the two Frondes, he exasperated both and united them against him.

La Rochefoucauld and the Princess Palatine, believing that the Cardinal was tricking them, resolved to act with more vigour. On December 2, the Princesse de Condé had presented a petition to the Parlement praying for the release of her husband; on the ground that his imprisonment was a violation of the declaration of October 1648; and, in spite of the efforts of the law-officers of the Crown, who maintained that the imprisonment of the princes was a question outside the jurisdiction of the courts, the magistrates had insisted on deliberating upon it, and had finally voted solemn remonstrances demanding the liberation of the captives. On various pretexts, the Queen contrived to defer her answer until January 30, on which day, the Keeper of the Seals, in her name, announced that their Majesties would set the princes at liberty when their partisans had laid down their arms. This, of course, meant that their release was postponed indefinitely, since neither Madame de Longueville nor Turenne was at all likely to purchase it on those terms.

Meanwhile, in despair of persuading Mazarin to a reconciliation with the House of Condé, the Palatine and La Rochefoucauld had decided to throw themselves into the

arms of Retz and his associates; and, on the same day on which the Queen's reply was announced to the Parlement, articles of alliance between the two Frondes were signed. The contracting parties were, on the side of the princes, the Palatine, the Duc de Nemours, the Président Viole, the Comte de Maure, Arnould de Corberville, a general of cavalry and a devoted admirer of Condé, and Fouquet-Croissy, a counsellor to the Parlement and a common friend of the coadjutor and *Monsieur le Prince;* and, on the side of the Old Fronde, Beaufort, Retz, Louis de Cossé, Duc de Brissac, and François de Montmorency Marquis de Fosseuse.

These articles were embodied in a general treaty and several separate personal treaties. The general treaty stipulated that the princes should be set at liberty and Mazarin driven from office; Condé was not to demand the office of Constable, the revival of which in his favour he was believed to desire, nor to make any changes in the Council, without the consent of Orléans; while the princes promised to honour with their friendship the adherents of *Monsieur*, especially Beaufort, Retz, and Noirmoutier.* The private conventions guaranteed various advantages to the principal contracting parties. By one, it was agreed that the Duc d'Enghien should espouse one of the daughters of Gaston, when the parties should have reached a suitable age. By another, which contained the germ of much future trouble, the Princess Palatine promised, "in the name and in virtue of the authority which she had received from the prince and Madame de Longueville, and engaged the faith and honour of M. le Prince de Conti that, so soon as he should be at liberty, he would espouse Mlle. de Chevreuse in the face of our Holy Mother Church." A third, signed by the Palatine and the Duc de Nemours, promised to the Duchesse de Montbazon 100,000 écus, in return for which that lady engaged to control Beaufort and his followers in the interests of the princes. Finally, the last treaty guaranteed to Châteauneuf

* Much difficulty was experienced in securing the co-operation of the irresolute Gaston, and even Retz's persuasive powers were for a time of no avail. If we are to believe the coadjutor, his consent was finally obtained almost by force. Canmartin, Retz's secretary, followed him about for several days, the treaty in one pocket, and a pen and an inkstand in the other. At length, he caught him between two doors, put the pen between his fingers, "and *Monsieur* signed," said Madame de Chevreuse, "as he would have signed a treaty with the devil, if he had been afraid of being surprised by his guardian angel."

neuf, the Keeper of the Seals, the post of Prime Minister, after the expulsion of Mazarin, and to Retz the support of the princes to obtain for him a cardinal's hat.*

Events now marched rapidly. On February 1, the Parlement deliberated on the Queen's response to their demands for the liberation of the princes; and Retz, on behalf of Orléans, who, with his usual timidity, had declined to make the announcement himself, informed the assembled magistrates that the duke had decided to co-operate with them, and to do all in his power to secure the release of his cousins. The Parlement sent a deputation to the Luxembourg, to learn if such were really his intention, and Orléans answered in the affirmative.

In the afternoon of the same day, there was a stormy interview between *Monsieur*, the Queen, and Mazarin, at the Palais-Royal, when the Cardinal compared the Frondeurs to Fairfax and Cromwell, and declared that, like the chiefs of the English revolution, they wished, in attacking the Minister, to destroy royalty itself; to which the duke angrily retorted that royalty was in no way concerned, since the only question at issue was the deplorable policy of the Cardinal.

On the morrow, Orléans, to whom, for the moment, Retz appears to have succeeded in communicating something of his own restless energy, sent for Châteauneuf, the Maréchal de Villeroi—the King's *gouverneur*—and Le Tellier, whom he informed that he refused to assist at the Council or return to the Palais-Royal, so long as Mazarin remained there. He further declared that it was his belief that the Queen intended to escape from Paris and take her son with her, and that Villeroi should answer with his head for the security of his Majesty's person; after which, he sent orders to the Provost of the Merchants and the sheriffs to place guards around the Palais-Royal, to prevent the execution of any such design.

The Cardinal, now thoroughly alarmed, at length decided to treat with the princes, and accordingly despatched the Maréchal de Gramont to Havre; but this tardy negotiation served only to stimulate the hatred of his enemies, determined not to leave to him the credit of

* The full text of these treaties has been published by Victor Cousin, in his *Madame de Longueville pendant la Fronde* (edit. 1859), pp. 371-384.

delivering Condé and of treating with him. On February 4, Orléans proceeded to the Palais de Justice, where he repeated the declaration which he had already given in favour of the release of the princes, and related the scene at the Palais-Royal, where Mazarin had compared his opponents to the English revolutionaries. The indignation of the assembly was indescribable, and it forthwith voted that their Majesties should be asked, not only to liberate the princes, but also to dismiss the Cardinal Mazarin. On the 6th, a deputation from the Parlement presented this request to Anne of Austria, who replied that they should receive her answer the next day. In vain the Queen sent to summon Orléans to the Palais-Royal, willing to make any concession he might demand, if only she might be allowed to retain her beloved Cardinal. But, for once, Gaston was firm, and Mazarin, learning that the citizens had taken up arms on the duke's orders, and fearing that he might be arrested and delivered to the vengeance of his enemies, decided to bow before the storm, and to leave Paris.

On the night of February 6–7, accompanied by the Comte de Broglie and another gentleman, he secretly quitted the city, by the Porte de Richelieu, and retired to Saint-Germain. Before his departure, he had instructed Anne of Austria as to the course which she was to pursue. He hoped that Orléans and the Parlement, satisfied with his retirement from office, would not insist on his expulsion from the kingdom; and that he might, if Anne could contrive to postpone the release of the princes, yet be enable to make an alliance with Condé and return under the ægis of his protection. Should, however, his enemies be determined to push matters to extremities, the King and Queen were to endeavour to make their escape from Paris and join the Cardinal, when they would retire into Normandy, which was now entirely loyal. "Outside Paris," he wrote, "their Majesties are masters of all; for they have soldiers, fortresses, and the princes in their power, and need have no fear of being compelled to do anything which does not please them." In the event of it being found impossible for their Majesties to escape, the Queen was to refuse as long as possible her consent to the unconditional liberation of the princes, so that the Cardinal might have time to proceed to Havre and liberate them himself; for which purpose, he had

provided himself with a written order signed by the Regent.

Mazarin's hopes were vain. On the 7th, the Parlement voted their thanks to the Queen for the dismissal of the Cardinal, but coupled with it a demand for the release of the princes, and for the banishment of Mazarin without hope of return; and, two days later, issued a decree which enjoined upon "the Cardinal Mazarin, his relations, and foreign domestics to evacuate the kingdom of France within fifteen days." Moreover, Le Tellier, having had the indiscretion to reveal the projected flight of their Majesties to Châteauneuf and the King's *gouverneur*, Villeroi, in whose loyalty the Queen still believed, the latter warned the Frondeurs, who promptly raised the citizens; and the King and Queen found themselves prisoners in their own palace. At the same time, the coadjutor and his associates threatened that, if Anne did not immediately sign the order for the release of the prisoners, she should be deposed from her office of Regent in favour of Orléans, and that the superintendence of the young king's education should also be given to that prince; and, on February 10, the Queen at length yielded to their demands.

Finding that his enemies were determined on his expulsion, and that there was no hope of their Majesties being permitted to join him, Mazarin had already left Saint-Germain for Havre. At Lillebonne he was overtaken by a courier with a letter from the Queen, informing him that she had been forced to sign an order for the release of the princes. He hastened on, and reached Havre on the morning of February 13, some time before the arrival of the Secretary of State, La Vrillière, who had been charged to carry thither the Queen's order of the 10th. Entering the room where the princes were confined, the Cardinal informed them that they were now free, and asked for their friendship and support for the King, for the Regent, and for himself. They dined together, though the meal seems to have been a somewhat embarrassing function, after which Conti and Longueville withdrew, and Mazarin spent some two hours in endeavouring to convince Condé that Orléans, instigated by Retz, had been the chief instrument of his incarceration, and that his release had been granted at the Cardinal's own solicitation. But he got nothing for his pains, save some vague assurances of

friendship ;* and thus, after having refused to accept the opportunity offered him by the Palatine and La Rochefoucauld of delivering Condé on terms which would have assured him the support of the prince, he ended by granting it without any condition whatever.

The preparations for the departure of the princes were soon completed ; and, escorted by Mazarin, they proceeded to the coach which was waiting to take them to Paris. The Cardinal bowed low before Condé, so low indeed, that his enemies subsequently asserted that he embraced his knees.† But Condé was never remarkable for magnanimity, and his only acknowledgment of this act of humility is said to have been a burst of mocking laughter.

At Saint-Denis, the princes were met by 5,000 gentlemen on horseback, who escorted them in triumph to the capital, where they were received with the utmost enthusiasm. The same people who had lighted bonfires and discharged muskets from joy at their arrest, thirteen months before, now indulged in similar demonstrations in celebration of their release. *Monsieur* gave a magnificent supper in their honour, and Madame de Chevreuse, a ball, and " all the earth visited *Monsieur le Prince* at his hôtel." Their Majesties, still, to all intents and purposes, prisoners in the Palais-Royal, disguising their feelings, received them courteously, and the young King " embraced his cousin." Finally, on February 25, a royal ordinance, ratified two days later, amid loud applause, by the Parlement, proclaimed the innocence of the princes, and reinstated them in their governments and other dignities and offices.

As for the fallen Minister, after lingering for some weeks in Picardy, in the hope that the princes might redeem the promise that they had given him, he made his way, accompanied by his nephew and nieces, who had joined him at Péronne, to Brühl, near Cologne.

* " I did not set them (the princes) at liberty unconditionally," wrote the Cardinal to Le Tellier, " since they promised me to attach themselves before all and irreparably to the Queen, and to conform absolutely to her will in all things. . . . They all promised me, several times, an entire friendship."—Letter of February 15, published by Chéruel.

† *Mademoiselle*, who asserts that Condé himself was her authority, says that Mazarin " kissed his boot."

CHAPTER XVIII

THE TWO FRONDES

MADAME DE LONGUEVILLE, who had of course been included in the ordinance which recognised the innocence of her husband and brothers, remained with Turenne, at Stenai, for three weeks after the triumphant return of her husband and her brothers to Paris, for the purpose of freeing themselves from the engagements into which they had entered with Spain for the deliverance of the princes, and of negotiating a truce, which, it was hoped, would pave the way to the general peace so much desired. The negotiation was a difficult one, since the Spaniards, very dissatisfied at the turn matters had taken, were in no hurry to liberate their allies from their obligation not to lay down their arms until peace had been concluded. Condé pressed his sister to return to Paris, being of opinion that the negotiations could best be carried on from there; but the lady seemed to imagine that her presence at Stenai was indispensable; and there can be no doubt that the Spanish Ministers at Brussels entertained a very high opinion of her abilities, and perhaps reposed more confidence in her sense of honour than in that of the other leaders of her party.

At length, on March 7, having despatched Sarrasin to Brussels, to thank the Archduke for the good offices which he had rendered her during her disgrace, and to assure him that she would continue to do everything in her power to procure a truce between France and Spain, during which proposals for a final peace might be the more easily discussed, she quitted Stenai and set out for Paris. Her journey resembled a triumphal progress. At Verdun, the citizen militia came out to meet her at some distance from the town and escorted her to the house of the governor, the Comte de Feuquières, where she passed the night; and a similar reception awaited her in the other towns through which she passed. At Châlons-sur-Marne, she was met by the Prince de Conti, and on the 13th she arrived in Paris, where she found herself the

heroine of the hour, and every one, says the *Gazette*, "applauded her heroic actions." Gaston d'Orléans, accompanied by *Mademoiselle* and a *cortège* of ladies of the highest rank, hastened to visit her; and on the same day she waited upon their Majesties, who, dissimulating their feelings, as they had done when receiving the princes, accorded her a very gracious reception.

This moment is, indeed, without question, the most brilliant of Madame de Longueville's career. On her return from Münster, in 1647, the universal homage paid her had been, in great part, a tribute to the power of the House of Condé, and to the influence which she was known to exercise over her elder brother. After her return from Stenai, her triumph was, in some sense, a personal one. She had, during the past fourteen months, given proofs of qualities which had raised her almost to the level of Condé himself. In Normandy, she had displayed a courage and a devotion which had evoked the admiration of all; at Stenai, she had shown that she was a force to be reckoned with in both French and European politics. Undismayed by the reverses of her House, she had taken upon herself the direction of its destinies, had treated on equal terms with Spain, had organised armies, and discussed with generals their plans of campaign; and when, worsted in the field, her cause seemed on the verge of ruin, her skilfully-conducted intrigues had recovered at one stroke all that had been lost, liberated the princes, and driven the detested Cardinal into exile. In a word, Madame de Longueville had reached the summit of her ambition; the dazzling prize which La Rochefoucauld had dangled before her eyes, in order to conceal the selfishness of his own designs, was hers. To the sighs of her lovers and the flattery of sycophants was now added the applause of statesmen. She had become a great political personage.

Few women, save those born to rule, have been able to resist the intoxication of such a position, and Madame de Longueville was not one of the exceptions. The haughtiness which had begun to manifest itself after the Peace of Rueil was now a subject of general comment, and deeply offended many whose friendship it would have been politic to secure. "She received," says Madame de Motteville, "with a disdainful smile, not only the people of Paris, but the greatest nobles who came to pay homage

at her house." Her influence over her brothers, whom she had placed under such immense obligations, was, of course, greater than ever, and, ignoring the lessons of the past, she exercised it as freely and with as little discretion as before. The fatal errors into which they soon fell were, in a large measure, the result of her counsels; for, great as were undoubtedly her abilities, she had none of the sagacity, none of the cool judgment of her friend the Princess Palatine, and did not hesitate to sacrifice their interests and her own under the sway of feminine passion.

Condé, on his side, had not learned wisdom from adversity. The turbulence of the third Prince de Condé, had, as we have seen, been effectually cooled by the three years' imprisonment which he had suffered in the early part of the previous reign; but Louis de Bourbon was entirely destitute of the prudence which had tempered his father's greed and ambition. His years of confinement seemed only to have accentuated that impatience of all control, that haughtiness of manner, and that contemptuous disregard for the feelings and opinions of others which he had always shown. Restored to liberty, under circumstances which seemed to promise him an almost undisputed ascendency, he returned to Paris more than ever determined to carry matters with a high hand. But, to exercise the power which he desired, the maintenance of the alliance which had opened his prison doors and procured the exile of Mazarin was essential; and Condé, though possessed of the highest military gifts, had none of the qualities necessary for successful political leadership.

The coalition of the Fronde and the princes, so long as the concord which had assured their triumph continued, seemed irresistible, since not only did it comprise many of the great families of the kingdom, but it dominated the Parlement, and was favourably regarded by the provincial nobility, the clergy, and the populace of Paris. But, to maintain this good understanding, even for a short period, was no easy task, since such a confederacy could not be, from its very nature, more than a temporary one, composed as it was of two parties actuated by purely selfish motives, whose jealousy and suspicion of each other were only exceeded by their hatred of the man whom they regarded as their common enemy. The fear of Mazarin once removed, the rivalries which had for the moment been composed were sure to break forth again,

and sooner or later to lead to the dissolution of the alliance.

This danger the Princess Palatine had foreseen, and it was with the idea of averting it that she had urged the marriage of the Prince de Conti to Mlle. de Chevreuse, which would unite the House of Condé to the great families of Rohan, Luynes, and Lorraine,* and that of the Duc d'Enghien to a daughter of *Monsieur*. The question of a marriage between Beaufort and Mlle. de Longueville was also again discussed; but, of the three projected alliances, the first was immeasurably the most important. "It would give for ever the House of Condé to the Fronde, and the Fronde to the House of Condé; for the Fronde was Madame de Chevreuse, who controlled, through her daughter, Retz, who, in his turn, controlled Orléans and the Parlement."†

At first, Condé strove with some success to subdue the natural haughtiness and impetuosity of his character, in order to avoid wounding the members of the party with which he found himself associated. All the questions which were to be submitted to the Council in the presence of the Queen were first debated at the Luxembourg, at meetings which were attended by the Duc d'Orléans, *Monsieur le Prince*, the coadjutor, and Beaufort. The Keeper of the Seals, Châteauneuf, their secret ally, gave them early information of every matter which was to come up for discussion.

Mazarin, who, from his retreat at Brühl (through the agency of Bartet and other skilful emissaries), kept up an active correspondence with the Queen, and with his faithful henchmen, Servien, Lionne, and Le Tellier, and continued to direct all their actions, was much alarmed on being informed of these assemblies. His letters show that he feared that the Frondeurs intended to deprive Anne of the regency, and he also seems to have been apprehensive that an attempt might be made to carry off the young King.

It is doubtful if the coalition ever entertained any serious intention of securing the person of Louis XIV.; but it is certain that they desired to deprive Anne of Austria

* The Duchesse de Chevreuse was a Rohan; she had married, *en premières noces*, the Connétable de Luynes; while her second husband was a member of the House of Lorraine.

† Victor Cousin, *Madame de Longueville pendant la Fronde*.

of the regency. The first suggestion was that the Queen should be arrested and shut up in the Val-de-Grâce, while a declaration should be obtained from the Parlement transferring the regency to Orléans or Condé. If we are to believe La Rochefoucauld, both parties would willingly have agreed to this measure. "But," he adds, "*Monsieur le Prince*, who returned as it were in triumph, was still too much dazzled with the splendour of his liberation to see very distinctly all that he might undertake. Perhaps, too, the magnitude of the enterprise prevented him from perceiving its facility." Any way, Condé showed himself unfavourably disposed towards the project, and it was accordingly determined to proceed by more constitutional means. This was to convene the States-General, and to make use of it to modify profoundly the constitution of the realm. The Estates were to be asked to deprive Anne of Austria of the regency; to impose upon the young King a Council composed of twenty-one persons: the Queen, Orléans, Condé, and eighteen other members, six of whom were to be elected by each of the three Estates; and, finally, to postpone the majority of the King who, in accordance with the ancient laws of the realm, came of age on the following September 6, on completing his thirteenth year, until he had attained the age of eighteen. The Estates were also to demand that Mazarin should never be permitted to return to France. By these measures, the princes and the Frondeurs counted on being able to prolong their ascendency for more than four years, and exercise during that period an almost unbridled authority.

The Queen, although at this time unacquainted with all the plans of the faction which menaced the royal authority, foresaw the danger, and, acting on Mazarin's instructions, determined to use every possible means to avert it. The Cardinal was well aware that the Parlement, always very jealous of the national assemblies, was opposed to the convocation of the States-General; and he accordingly advised her not to reject the demand for the meeting of the Estates, but to adjourn their convocation until after the King's majority. Anne followed his counsel, and had the satisfaction of observing a very pretty quarrel break out between the nobility and the Parlement, which believed that the summoning of the Estates, during the King's minority, might be followed

by measures for curtailing its own authority. Encouraged by this and by the indifference of Condé, who was not without apprehension that, if the Estates deprived Anne of the regency, Orléans might succeed her (a consummation which he by no means desired), the Queen remained firm in her refusal to allow the Estates to meet before the autumn; and, though efforts were made by the Frondeurs to induce the municipal authorities and the citizens to join with the other Orders in demanding their immediate convocation, the attempt failed, and the Estates were finally convened for September 8, the day following the King's majority.

Thus, not only was a great danger averted, but a serious blow was struck at the harmony between the two sections of the coalition, upon which its strength depended; for both the Parlement and the nobility had sought to enlist the support of Condé, and each party considered itself aggrieved by the neutral attitude which the prince had assumed, which seemed to them to savour of weakness and ingratitude. As a matter of fact, Condé, who could not forget the part which Orléans and the Frondeurs had played in securing his incarceration, and was under no illusion as to the motives which had induced them to undo their own work, had begun to weary of his connection with a party which he had always regarded with dislike and contempt, and to approach the Court, lured thereto by the proposals of the Queen.

From Brühl, Mazarin was constantly urging his confidants to spare no effort to divide the Houses of Orléans and Condé. "The safety of the State and of their Majesties," he writes to Servien, "depends upon the disunion of these princes, since their said Majesties, by choosing whichever of the two they judge most suitable, could dictate, by this means, the law to the other, and could work, with some promise of success, for the re-establishment of the royal authority." Were it not that *Monsieur*, he continues, is dominated by Retz, "who is bankrupt in honour and probity," and whose greatest pleasure consists in subverting the monarchy, he would recommend them to seek a *rapprochement* with him, in preference to the Prince de Condé, whose greed is insatiable, who is ungovernable in his passions, and upon whose word and promises experience shows that no reliance can be placed; but, under the circumstances, he counsels them

to select Condé, notwithstanding the grave defects in his character and conduct which he has just indicated.*

Secret negotiations were accordingly opened with Condé; and Servien and Lionne promised the prince, in the Queen's name, the government of Guienne, in place of that of Burgundy, which was to be given to the Duc d'Épernon, and allowed him to hope that his brother should receive the government of Provence, if the Comte d'Alais could be prevailed upon to exchange it for Champagne. These concessions would, it is hardly necessary to observe, enormously increase the power of the House of Condé, and render the prince the virtual sovereign of the South of France; and it is evident, from Mazarin's correspondence, that the two Ministers, in their anxiety to gain Condé, had greatly exceeded the Cardinal's instructions.

On this understanding, Condé promised to raise no objection to certain ministerial changes which Anne was contemplating. These were the dismissal of Châteauneuf, the Keeper of the Seals, whose perfidy had rendered him odious to the Queen, and the admission to the Council of Chavigny and the First President, Mathieu Molé, whom Mazarin had recommended to her. Chavigny had been for some time past bitterly hostile to the Cardinal, and had been exiled, as we have seen, in the autumn of 1648; but a reconciliation had recently been effected between them, through the good offices of Fabert, the Governor of Sedan, one of Mazarin's most devoted adherents.†

Great was the astonishment and indignation of Orléans, when, on arriving at the Palais-Royal, on the afternoon of April 3, he found Chavigny, of whose presence in Paris he was even in ignorance, seated at the Council-table. In a tone of the deepest annoyance, he inquired of the Queen why she had taken so important a step without warning him; to which Anne replied sharply that "he had done so many things lately without consulting her, that he ought not to be surprised if she did the same." A very lively discussion followed, Condé standing by with a malicious smile on his face, which caused Madame de Motteville, who was also present, to decide that "he was

* Letter of March 9, 1651.

† On the earlier relations between Mazarin and Chavigny, see p. 138 *supra*.

not ill pleased at the dissension between the Queen and the Duc d'Orléans."*

A few hours later, Orléans, who had returned to the Luxembourg, was informed of the disgrace of the Keeper of the Seals, by a message from the Queen, which also apprised him that Mathieu Molé had been appointed as his successor. If he had been irritated by the recall of Chavigny, he was positively exasperated by this fresh and far more decisive proof that Anne had determined to ignore the wishes of the Lieutenant-General of the realm. It was, moreover, difficult to believe that the Queen would have ventured to act in this manner, unless she had first assured herself of the neutrality, if not of the approval, of Condé; and the suspicions which he had for some time entertained in regard to the good faith of his ally were now confirmed. At eleven o'clock that night, a meeting of the leaders of the coalition was convened at the Luxembourg. Orléans acquainted his confederates with what had taken place, pointed out that it was the evident intention of the Regent to act independently of their control, and invited their views as to what measures should be adopted. The indignation of the assembly knew no bounds, and the most violent measures were advocated. Some proposed that they should get to horse, ride straight to Mathieu Molé's house, and order him, on pain of death, to give up the seals. Others wished to excite an insurrection, march to the Palais-Royal, and carry off the King, and Retz, urged on by Madame and Mlle. de Chevreuse, declared that, if *Monsieur* would give him but two hours in which to raise the people, he would engage to make him the absolute master of Paris. "Madame de Longueville has since said," observed Madame de Motteville, "that that day she believed Paris would be destroyed by fire and blood."

The attitude of Condé cooled the ardour of the Frondeurs, and confirmed their suspicions that a secret understanding existed between him and the Court. While affecting to share their indignation at the conduct of the Queen, he strongly deprecated any such measures as they proposed. His military experience, he declared, would avail him nothing "in a war of chamber-pots and cobblestones," and he must frankly confess himself a coward when such missiles were flying about. If the Duc

* Madame de Motteville, *Mémoires*.

d'Orléans, he sarcastically added, felt that nothing but a resort to arms could wipe out this outrage to his dignity, he would retire to his government of Burgundy and raise an army for his Royal Highness's service, leaving to him the privilege of exhibiting his courage at the head of the Paris mob. Then, bowing to the company, he withdrew, followed by his friends; and the discomfited Frondeurs could hear them laughing and jesting, as they descended the steps of the palace, over the war of chamber-pots.

The meeting finally dispersed without any decision being arrived at, as ill pleased with Condé as with the Queen. To pacify Orléans, Anne of Austria, a few days later, availed herself of a dispute between the Chancellor Séguier and Mathieu Molé to request the First President to surrender the seals and to bestow them on Séguier. But the mischief was done, and it was obvious that the alliance which had constituted such a formidable menace to the royal authority had become one in name only. An event which now occurred dissolved it altogether, and changed the relations between the party of the princes and the Frondeurs into active hostility.

We have spoken of the great importance attached by the Princess Palatine to the marriage projected between the Prince de Conti and Mlle. de Chevreuse, which was to unite the House of Condé with those of Rohan, Luynes, and Lorraine, and, in conjunction with the future union of the Duc d'Enghien to a daughter of *Monsieur*, form the basis of a league of the great families, which should exercise a controlling influence over the Government. We have also seen that this project had been agreed to by Madame de Longueville, to whom it had been submitted at Stenai, and that, writing to the Palatine, on November 29, 1650, she had declared, in referring to it, "It is therefore to this that we must adhere." Moreover, Condé, as the head of his House, approved or seemed to approve of the match, and Madame de Chevreuse had adroitly succeeded in binding him by a fresh promise. When *Monsieur le Prince* paid her a formal visit after his return from Havre, she declared that she was unwilling to profit by a treaty signed in his absence and when he was not free, and offered to relieve the family of their engagement; but Condé, far from taking advantage of this apparently magnanimous offer, confirmed the treaty by

fresh promises.* Finally, the young Prince de Conti, who was either ignorant of, or inclined to treat as idle and malicious gossip, the very unpleasant rumours which were in circulation concerning the relations between the coadjutor and his bride-elect, had not paid many visits to the Hôtel de Chevreuse before the charms of the fair Charlotte had completely subjugated him. He testified for her the most intense admiration; he paid her a thousand attentions, which he was careful to conceal from his friends, and particularly from Madame de Longueville, who claimed his undivided homage; and, in short, showed himself not only willing but positively impatient for the marriage.

On his side, Mazarin was fully alive to the danger to the royal authority and his own prospects of a return to power which would result from such a marriage; while, on the other hand, he foresaw that if the Condés could, by any possibility, be induced to break their engagement, the resentment of Madame de Chevreuse and her friends would be such that an immediate rupture of the coalition must surely follow; and we accordingly find him writing to his confidants, impressing upon them the vital importance of opposing this union by every means in their power. "They [Madame de Chevreuse and Retz] know very well," he writes to Lionne, "that *Monsieur le Prince* does not consent to this marriage except by constraint. Perhaps, if *Monsieur le Prince's* eyes were opened, through the agency of some person who was in his interests, and in whom he reposed confidence, such as Madame de Bouillon or the Maréchal de Gramont, that might have a good effect." And again (March 21): "I cannot understand how Madame de Longueville and La Rochefoucauld, who entirely control the mind of the Prince de Conti, could ever be capable of consenting to it, since they cannot doubt that, the marriage once consummated, it will be Madame de Chevreuse and the coadjutor who will dominate the said prince, and not they. And, since it is a matter of sufficiently common knowledge in Paris, it is

* According to Retz, Madame de Chevreuse sent him to the Hôtel de Condé, to offer to surrender to the prince the treaty providing for his brother's marriage to her daughter. "I discharged my embassy to *Monsieur le Prince*," he writes. "I placed in his hands my pretensions to a cardinal's hat [presumably the treaty in which the Condés engaged to support the coadjutor's claim to this dignity]. I handed to him the treaty providing for the marriage of Mlle. de Chevreuse. He stormed at me, he swore, he demanded for what I took him. I left persuaded, and I am still of the same opinion, that he had every intention of executing it."

impossible that the persons whose interest it is to disgust the Prince de Conti with this marriage should not be aware that the coadjutor sees Mlle. de Chevreuse almost every evening in private, and that he is on more intimate terms with her than a person who proposes to marry her ought to desire."

Notwithstanding the efforts of the Court, the marriage so much dreaded by Mazarin, and so much desired by Madame de Chevreuse and Retz, seemed on the point of being consummated. Towards the end of March, Madame de Chevreuse began to make preparations for the ceremony, and the Cardinal writes to Lionne that he hears that her hôtel is being superbly decorated in anticipation of the event, and that she has hung there "three tapestries belonging to him, to wit, the Scipio, the Paris, and one of green relieved with gold, which formed part of those which had been pledged to Hervart."* However, after the ministerial changes of April 3, which had so exasperated the Frondeurs, and convinced them that there was a secret understanding between Condé and the Court, Madame de Chevreuse, who was well aware how greatly Anne of Austria desired to prevent the marriage, became seriously alarmed.† She was somewhat reassured by the attitude of the Prince de Conti, who, on April 10, "desirous of giving proofs of his constancy, offered her to sign the marriage articles;" and, on the 14th, Lionne wrote to Mazarin: "Madame de Chevreuse declares that she does not altogether despair of the marriage; she places some hope in the love of the Prince de Conti."

However, the very next day, the proposed marriage was abruptly broken off. "The marriage of the Prince de Conti is abandoned," writes one of Mazarin's correspondents to the Cardinal, under date April 17; "the Queen having informed *Monsieur le Prince* and the Prince de Conti, the day before yesterday, that the latter must entirely renounce this intention, and that this marriage was altogether impossible. The Président Viole, who had been the negotiator of this alliance, was the same day to see Madame de Chevreuse, on behalf of the two princes, to express

* The Strasburg banker. (See p. 165 *supra*.)

† In the first conference which had taken place between Condé and the two Ministers, Servien and Lionne, the latter had intimated to him that the Queen strongly disapproved of the projected marriage. "But the prince," says La Rochefoucauld, "gave them to understand that the engagement he had entered into with Madame de Chevreuse was too important to seek expedients to break it."

to her the grief which they felt at the Queen's repugnance to the execution of this project, and to assure her that they hoped in time to obtain her consent, which she at present refuses them. This has the less surprised the said lady and all her faction, inasmuch as appearances already pointed very strongly to a rupture, it being a fortnight since these princes had visited the Hôtel de Chevreuse.* Few persons complain of their conduct, every one being aware that the demand for this marriage was only a pretended reward for treasons. After this, it would appear that Monsieur le Cardinal's tapestries will soon be taken down."†

Retz gives the following account of the scene at the Hôtel de Chevreuse, when Viole came on his very delicate mission : " On the following morning,‡ as I was in Madame de Chevreuse's chamber, the Président Viole entered, very embarrassed, as it seemed to us. He discharged the embassy with which he was charged like a man who is ashamed. He swallowed one half of what he had to say, and we understood, from the other half, that he came to announce the rupture of the marriage. Madame de Chevreuse responded courteously. Mlle. de Chevreuse, who was dressing near the fire, began to laugh."

It is a problem very difficult to solve with certainty what were the reasons which induced Condé to break thus abruptly an engagement to the fulfilment of which his family had twice committed itself : first, by the treaty signed on January 30, 1650, and, afterwards, by the prince's own assurances to Madame de Chevreuse on his return from Havre ; since it is obvious that the opposition of the Queen would have had very little weight with *Monsieur le Prince*, if he had really desired the marriage to take place. Two of Condé's biographers, Earl Stanhope and the Duc d'Aumale, seem inclined to attribute his action to the not unnatural repugnance of a proud and haughty nature to allow his brother to wed with a lady whose moral reputation was so very dubious ; and it is

* Lionne, in a letter to Mazarin, speaks of a visit paid by Conti to the Hôtel de Chevreuse on April 11, on which occasion, however, Mlle. de Chevreuse was not at home.

† *Affaires étrangères, France*, published by Chéruel.

‡ Retz places this episode on April 4, the day after the meeting at the Luxembourg, and he has been followed by several historians. The letters which we have already cited, and others, prove, however, that the rupture of the marriage occurred on April 15.

certain that this was the reason he gave the young Prince de Conti, and which induced the latter to renounce a union for which he was so sincerely anxious.* But, if such were the case, why did Condé wait until almost the eleventh hour before perceiving the indignity of the alliance? He must have been long aware of the character of Mlle. de Chevreuse, for, as we have seen, by the letters of Madame de Longueville to the Princess Palatine, and of Mazarin to Lionne, her relations with Retz were common talk in Court circles. And, even supposing that he had until that moment been in ignorance, was the frailty of a woman in an age notorious for its profligacy a sufficient cause for inflicting so gross an affront upon three of the first families in France—the Lorraines, the Rohans, and the Luynes—and of levelling at a single blow the edifice which had been built up with such infinite pains?

No; the true reason of Condé's conduct seems to have been a very different one. Impatient of all control, and possessed of an exaggerated idea of his own influence, Condé, as we have said, had grown weary of his alliance with Orléans and the Frondeurs, and had, though without formally breaking with them, entered into an understanding with the Court. He believed that he might secure greater advantages for himself by a reconciliation with the Government than he could hope to obtain with the assistance of the Frondeurs; for, though much might be extorted from the Regent by so formidable a coalition, there were many mouths to be fed, and the appetites of some of his allies for places and pensions were insatiable. At the same time, he was somewhat doubtful whether the Frondeurs would not be sufficiently audacious, even without the assistance of himself and his friends, to coerce the Government; and he therefore waited to see what action they would take on the occasion of the dismissal of Châteauneuf before breaking off his brother's engage-

* "Without revealing his intention to any one, he [*Monsieur le Prince*] went to the Prince de Conti. He began the conversation by rallying him on the greatness of his love, and concluded it by telling him of the relations of Mlle. de Chevreuse with the coadjutor, Noirmoutier, and Caumartin, and all which he believed most calculated to disgust a lover or a husband. He did not experience much difficulty in succeeding in his design; for, whether it was that the Prince de Conti believed that he spoke the truth, or that he did not wish to show that he doubted him, he thanked him for an advice so salutary, and resolved not to wed Mlle. de Chevreuse. He even complained of Madame de Longueville and the Duc de la Rochefoucauld for not having warned him sooner of what people were saying."—La Rochefoucauld, *Mémoires.*

ment, and definitely separating from them. "*Monsieur le Prince,*" says La Rochefoucauld, who must certainly have known the truth, "having as yet neither concluded nor broken his treaty with the Queen, and having been informed that the Keeper of the Seals, Châteauneuf, was to be dismissed, wished to wait for that event, in order to allow the marriage to take place, if the Cardinal Mazarin were ruined by M. de Châteauneuf, or to break it off and thereby pay his court to the Queen, if M. de Châteauneuf were driven away by the Cardinal." When Condé found that, without his co-operation, Orléans and the Frondeurs dared not take any steps to compel the Regent to reinstate the disgraced Minister, he concluded that he would be perfectly safe in continuing his negotiations with the Court, and accordingly terminated both his brother's engagement and the alliance.

But what was Madame de Longueville's share in this rupture, which was as impolitic as it was discreditable, and which may be regarded as the first link in that chain of unfortunate events which ended by drawing Condé into civil war? A very important one, if we are to believe the memoirs and correspondence of her contemporaries. Madame de Motteville states positively that Madame de Longueville, from the hour she returned from Stenai, counselled Condé to break with the Chevreuses, and that La Rochefoucauld fortified her in this design; and the motives she attributes to her are as follows:

"Madame de Longueville did not think it advisable to admit into her family a person who, in virtue of her position as the wife of her brother, would have taken precedence of her on all occasions, and who, being younger and as beautiful as herself, would have been able to have effaced her, or, at any rate, to share with her the pleasure of pleasing and of being praised. She was equally unwilling that she should deprive her of the influence which she desired to exercise over the mind of the Prince de Conti, by means of which she had up to that time rendered herself important to her family."*

Madame de Motteville's assertion is confirmed by the Duchesse de Nemours (Mlle. de Longueville), although her well-known antipathy to her step-mother perhaps somewhat discounts the value of her testimony; while La

* *Mémoires.*

Rochefoucauld admits that "the Frondeurs suspected Madame de Longueville and the Duc de La Rochefoucauld of an intention to break it [the marriage], for fear lest the Prince de Conti should go from their hands into those of Madame de Chevreuse and the coadjutor."* Always very careful to avoid committing himself when his conduct does not happen to redound to his credit, La Rochefoucauld does not tell us whether these suspicions were well or ill founded; but, instead, goes on to accuse Condé of having "augmented the suspicions of the Frondeurs against his sister and La Rochefoucauld, being convinced that, so long as they were under this impression, they would never discover the true cause of the postponement of the marriage."†

Finally, Lionne, writing to Mazarin, under date April 12, assures the Cardinal that "Madame de Longueville creates the greatest obstacles to it [the marriage] in the mind of the Prince de Conti, which she governs."‡

The rôle which the above testimony goes to prove was played by Madame de Longueville in the rupture certainly reflects very little credit upon her. Nor is it easy to reconcile with her letter to the Princess Palatine, in which she so strongly emphasises the importance of the marriage. But much had happened since then. In the first place, the immediate objects of the marriage treaty—the exile of Mazarin and the liberation of the princes—had been achieved. In the second, Madame de Longueville had had time to reflect upon the effects of this marriage upon her own position; and, for the reasons given by her contemporaries, the project had become extremely distasteful to her. Possibly, also, personal differences may have arisen between her and Mlle. de Chevreuse, concerning which we are left in ignorance; ill feeling between rival beauties, particularly when the reputation of neither is above reproach, is speedily kindled.

It is easy to conceive the resentment of Madame de Chevreuse, when she recognised that she had been duped: that she, who might have been basking in the sun of Court favour, had turned her back upon Mazarin and the Queen, and exercised all her skill and ingenuity to drive the

* Cf. Mazarin's letter of March 21 to Lionne, p. 258 *supra*.

† La Rochefoucauld, *Mémoires*. Victor Cousin, *Madame de Longueville pendant la Fronde*.

‡ Published by Chéruel.

Cardinal into exile and rescue Condé from prison, in order to receive so gross an affront! But she was not the woman to waste time in useless regrets. The Condés were victorious for the moment; but they were the veriest tyros in political intrigue compared with herself, and she was resolved that their hour of triumph should be a very brief one. In less than a week after the events we have just related, Mazarin was smiling complacently over the contents of a letter, a copy of one which had been written by Madame de Chevreuse to her confidant, the Marquis de Noirmoutier, now Governor of Charleville, and which had just been brought to Brühl by an agent of the marquis; and this is what he read:

MADAME DE CHEVREUSE TO THE MARQUIS DE NOIRMOUTIER.

"PARIS, *April* 20.

"It would occupy too long to set down here the rupture of my daughter's marriage in all its particulars. You will learn them from another source. This is merely to tell you that, being now free, I beg you to acquaint Monsieur le Cardinal with all speed, that in the present state of affairs at Court, there is an opportunity of serving him by means which are evident, provided that he bids the Queen place confidence in me, and that he keeps the secret to himself. Monsieur le Cardinal can rest assured of being well served in the present conjuncture. You must press him to write without delay to the Queen and give you a speedy answer, after which he will be fully informed of everything."*

Mazarin, who had speedily recovered that calmness of judgment of which the pride of victory and the intoxication of power had for a moment deprived him, had long since recognised the fatal mistake he had committed in giving himself two enemies at once, and all his efforts, as we have shown, had been directed towards dividing the forces arrayed against him. In this he had now succeeded, but he was well aware that the only sure means of preventing their reunion and securing his own return was to enter into alliance with one of them. At first, he had inclined towards the party of the princes, believing, in common with his confidants in the Ministry, that Condé

* Published by Chéruel.

alone possessed the courage and authority necessary to overcome all opposition to his recall. But, though the prince had shown himself very disposed to accept the overtures of the Court, it was becoming apparent that his ambition was such that nothing but the practical dismembership of the State in his favour would ever induce him to lend himself to Mazarin's return; and, though he sighed for the great position he had lost, the Cardinal hesitated to receive it back on such terms.

Under the circumstances, Mazarin decided to forget his grievances against Madame de Chevreuse and to accept her proposals. But he was too shrewd not to take every precaution when dealing with a party whose perfidy he had experienced on more than one occasion; and the counsel which he now gave Anne of Austria was to negotiate with both parties, to hold each in check by means of the other, and, above all things, to do everything possible to prevent their reunion.

The Queen followed his advice with her customary docility; before the end of April, the rupture between the Frondeurs and the party of the princes was complete, and the former allies had become irreconcilable enemies.

CHAPTER XIX

CONDÉ AND THE COURT

"THE greatest error in times of revolution," observes Victor Cousin, "is that of believing that one is able to dispense with the support of one of the contending parties. At the end of a revolution, one can attempt to dominate them; in the crisis, one must choose. Mazarin fell because he essayed to dominate at the same time the Fronde and Condé; Condé was ruined in imagining that he could dominate the Fronde and the Court."*

In breaking up so abruptly the formidable combination which had rendered him such important services, it was obviously to Condé's interests to enter with as little delay as possible into close relations with the Court; but this he hesitated to do, with the result that he presently found himself between two parties, both equally embittered

* *Madame de Longueville pendant la Fronde.*

against him. His policy and that of Madame de Longueville—for in 1651, as in 1649, the princess seems to have been the confidante and counsellor of all her brother's actions—so far as they can be said to have had a policy, was to form a middle party, which should hold the balance between the Court and the Fronde and dominate the situation. This was very much the same course which they had pursued after the Peace of Rueil, and which, though successful for a time, terminated so disastrously. But, misled by the overtures which had been made to Condé, they imagined that the Queen would be willing to make almost any sacrifice to purchase *Monsieur le Prince's* consent to the return of her Minister; while that, on the other hand, the antipathy of Anne of Austria and the Cardinal to Retz and his associates was such that there could be little danger of a new agreement between them.

The Court would certainly have been willing to go very far to win over Condé; but the ambition of the prince went far beyond anything which could possibly be granted him, with due regard to the preservation of the royal authority. Not content with having obtained for himself the government of Guienne, an unruly province, which had testified the greatest devotion to his family during the late war, and which, moreover, was adjacent to Spain, he demanded that of Provence for Conti, which, of course, meant that he would rule it, also, under his brother's name, and so become the virtual sovereign of the South of France. He further demanded that La Rochefoucauld, who had recently become Governor of Poitou, in succession to his father, should receive the government of the important fortress of Blaye, on the Gironde, then held by the Duc de Saint-Simon, father of the author of the *Mémoires*, and an adherent of the Court; that the Duc de Nemours should have that of Auvergne, and that the Regent should give her consent to the marriage of his mistress and ally, the Duchesse de Châtillon, with the Comte du Daugnon, Governor of Aunis and Saintonge. Finally, he had resumed his former pretensions to the Admiralty, and desired to take away this important office from the Duc de Vendôme.* On these conditions, he intimated to the Court that he would be prepared to consent to Mazarin's return.

* Vendôme had received the Admiralty after the arrest of the princes, in virtue of the compact between the Court and the Fronde.

Let us consider for a moment what would have been Condé's position had his demands been acceded to. He would have ruled, either himself, or, through his relatives and adherents, Poitou, Saintonge, Aunis, Guienne, Berry, Auvergne, and Provence,* that is to say, the whole of the Western seaboard of France from the mouth of the Loire to the mouth of the Gironde; two important central provinces, one of great strategic value, owing to its mountainous character, and a South-Eastern province within easy reach of the Spanish dominions in Italy, would have been, to all intents and purposes, in the hands of a single subject of the Crown. We may add that Condé, when surrendering Burgundy in exchange for Guienne, had retained possession of the fortress of Bellegarde, the command of which he had given to Boutteville; that he proposed that his brother should retain several fortresses in Champagne; that the governors of Anjou, Angoumois, the Limousin, and Béarn were all personal friends of the prince, and that the Comte de Marsin, who commanded in Catalonia, was one of his most devoted adherents.

It was obvious that such monstrous pretensions could not be for one instant entertained. Once in possession of these great governments, Condé could ally himself with the King of Spain, and bid defiance to his own sovereign. France, whose only vulnerable spot, as regards Spain, was at present her North-Eastern frontier, would then be liable to invasion at at least three other points: through Provence; by way of the seaports of Aunis and Saintonge; and by way of Bordeaux and Guienne; in which latter eventuality, a Spanish army, with Auvergne friendly, might penetrate into the very heart of the kingdom before an attempt could be made to bar its progress.

Mazarin was well aware that, by opposing Condé's demands, he was postponing, possibly to a very distant date, his return to France, the object of his most ardent desires. Nevertheless, this "evil Minister," whose restoration to office, according to Earl Stanhope, it was the duty of all good Frenchmen to oppose,† did not hesitate to sacrifice his own interests to those of his adopted country.

* We have not included Normandy, governed by the Duc de Longueville, since Normandy had remained loyal during the late war, in spite of the efforts of Madame de Longueville; and all its important fortresses were now in hands friendly to the Government.

† "Life of Louis Prince of Condé, surnamed the Great."

"The greatest happiness that the Cardinal can have," he wrote to the Queen, "is that his return has not been stipulated in an accommodation whereby *Monsieur le Prince* will be accorded establishments beyond the bounds of imagination . . . for the Cardinal, loving as he does the service of the King, would have been in despair at seeing himself re-established in office by a means so prejudicial to the State."*

The Cardinal was convinced—and the sequel proves how accurately he had gauged the situation—that the true explanation of Condé's pretensions was that there was an understanding between the prince and Spain. Condé had recently sent to Brussels La Rochefoucauld's brother-in-law, the Marquis de Sillery,† ostensibly to arrange for the evacuation of Stenai, which the troops of the Archduke had occupied after the departure of Madame de Longueville; and the Cardinal declares to Lionne his belief that this mission cloaked a much deeper design. "I believe," he writes, "that, if we could question the Marquis de Sillery, he could certainly tell us something which would enable us to see that an understanding exists between *Monsieur le Prince* and the Spaniards. For it is certain that Fuensaldana has remained very satisfied with him, and that his demand for the exchange of governments was known at Brussels, when it was quite a secret in France." And, in a subsequent letter, he adds: "What confirms me in the suspicion that *Monsieur le Prince* has an understanding with the Spaniards, is that the latter, notwithstanding that their affairs are in a very bad state, with very few resources for continuing the war, and on the eve of beholding new revolts break out every day in their dominions, behave with unexampled insolence in the negotiations for peace, and make proposals with an impertinence which they would have been ashamed to display towards the weakest prince in Europe."

Concealed behind the Queen, Mazarin at first had devoted himself to fomenting and aggravating the quarrel between the prince and the Frondeurs, lavishing on Condé

* Letter of May 12, published by Ravenel, *Lettres de Mazarin*. In his cypher letters to Anne of Austria, the Cardinal always speaks of himself in the third person.

† Louis Roger Brulart, 1619-1691. He had taken a prominent part in the defence of Bordeaux against the Royal troops in the autumn of the previous year.

promises which drew him closer and closer to the Court, while exciting the alarm and jealousy of his former allies. But, once having satisfied himself that the breach between the two factions had gone too far to admit of any reconciliation, and that, on the other hand, nothing short of the sacrifice of the royal authority could procure him the support of Condé, he changed his tactics and began insensibly to draw back. The promise made to the prince of the government of Guienne was duly fulfilled, and, on May 20, that post was formally conferred upon him; but it was represented that the Comte d'Alais, who had recently, through his father's death, become Duc d'Angoulême, could not at present see his way to exchange Provence for Champagne, and that it would be impossible to deprive the Duc de Saint-Simon of Blaye, to bestow it on La Rochefoucauld, until some equally important post could be found for the nobleman whom it was proposed to dispossess. In fact, Condé found all kinds of unexpected obstacles where he had previously met with nothing but the most positive assurances; and, mortified and incensed, he resumed the imperious attitude and insolent tone which, two years before, had embroiled him with the Court.

At the same time that Mazarin instructed the Queen and her Ministers to offer a determined opposition to the pretensions of Condé, he counselled her to spare no effort to detach from the prince the relatives and personal friends who had hitherto followed his fortunes so faithfully. "While *Monsieur le Prince* is endeavouring to establish his power more and more," he writes, "it would be a very prudent move for the service of the King to detach from him, very quietly, the persons of the greatest influence and the highest rank who are most capable of injuring or of serving him, in which I think you will succeed, because, among the great qualities which *Monsieur le Prince* possesses, he has certainly not that of preserving his friends."

In this last sentence, Mazarin indicates one of the most vulnerable points in his enemy's defences. Neither increasing years nor experience had had any effect in curbing Condé's imperious temper, nor that love of sarcasm which he exercised without distinction upon friend and foe alike.* In the Council, in his family, in the society of his intimate

* For an example of Condé's sarcasms at the expense of his friends, see p. 16 *supra*.

friends, he affected an intolerable haughtiness, which raised him up many enemies. The slightest opposition to his will was sufficient to throw him into the most ungovernable passions, in which he entirely forgot both what was due to his own dignity and to that of those with whom he happened to be. One day, at the Council, the Comptroller-General of Finance, the Président de Maisons, than whom few members of the Parlement had been more active on his behalf during his imprisonment, having ventured to question him upon the lavish expenditure in the King's Household, of which Condé was Superintendent, "*Monsieur le Prince*, transported by passion, indulged in every gesture which anger could suggest, and shook his fist a hundred times in the face of M. le Président."

Moreover, though Condé was exceedingly active in demanding important positions for his friends and allies, when he desired to further his own ambitious views, the feeling of obligation was entirely foreign to his nature. Thus, though he was unceasing in his importunities on behalf of La Rochefoucauld and Nemours, he entirely neglected the interests of Turenne and his brother, the Duc de Bouillon, who had at least equal claims upon his gratitude. These nobles had confidently anticipated that, when Condé was restored to liberty and power, he would induce the Government to restore to them their principality of Sedan; but, to their intense mortification, the prince, wholly occupied with his own projects, made no attempt in this direction. The two brothers were, in consequence, "not too well satisfied with *Monsieur le Prince*," and had begun to consider very seriously whether their interests would not better be served by a *rapprochement* with the Court. Mazarin, who fully understood the importance of securing their support, determined to spare no effort to this end; and the negotiations which were opened with them, at his suggestion, were, as we shall presently see, crowned with complete success.

A person of a very different character to the La Tours was also lost to Condé for similar reasons; this was the First President, Mathieu Molé. This estimable magistrate, always a firm friend of the House of Condé, had great claims upon the prince's gratitude; nevertheless, Condé had permitted him to be sacrificed to the resentment of Orléans, in the previous April, and to be deprived of the seals, three days after they had been placed in his hands.

This act of desertion was never forgiven by Molé, and henceforth the great influence he possessed with his colleagues was employed on behalf of the royal authority and against the prince.

Finally, several reasons combined to bring about an important defection in Condé's own family. The Duc de Longueville had followed his wife willingly enough into the Parliamentary Fronde, where he had been one of the "generals" of Paris, and had raised Normandy against Mazarin. But a year of imprisonment had had a very sobering effect upon the duke; and, having regained his liberty and recovered his government of Normandy and his estates, he felt very far from disposed to allow himself to be drawn into fresh enterprises, to satisfy the ambition of a brother-in-law whose imperious manners he had always supported with impatience.

He was the more disinclined to compromise himself anew, inasmuch as his relations with his wife were now decidedly strained. Madame de Longueville had never professed much affection for a husband nearly double her age, and "who possessed nothing that responded to the ideal which this illustrious pupil of the Hôtel de Rambouillet had formed:" but, so long as he did not attempt to exercise his marital authority, she tolerated him, and their relations would appear to have been amicable enough. Since his release from Havre, however, the once complacent duke has become decidedly restive. Of easy morals himself, he had ignored his wife's relations with La Rochefoucauld, so long as they had been carried on with a due regard to the conventions. But, when the *liaison* had become so open that it was the common talk of Court and town; when he found that the legitimacy of his younger son was being freely called in question, he came to the conclusion that it was time to interfere. Moreover, he disapproved of feminine politicians, whose greatest delight seemed to be to set the Court by the ears, and send elderly noblemen with a weakness for creature comforts to spend long months in damp and gloomy fortresses; and he regarded himself—and with some reason—as the victim of Madame la Duchesse's craving for notoriety. Altogether, M. de Longueville felt that he had grave reasons for dissatisfaction with his wife; and the enemies of *Monsieur le Prince*, with Retz at their head, did not fail to stimulate his ill-humour; while his daughter, Marie

d'Orléans, the future Duchesse de Nemours, ably seconded their efforts.

Mlle. de Longueville, a practical and rather commonplace young woman, the exact antithesis of her stepmother, had scant sympathy with the latter's ambitious projects, and had, from the first, regarded her with a dislike which had gradually ripened into positive aversion. Probably, there were faults on both sides, since even Victor Cousin is fain to admit that the elder princess "had little affection for her step-daughter, and perhaps did not consider her sufficiently." Any way, the latter employed all her influence over her father, who was greatly attached to her, to increase his irritation against his wife.

The result was that Longueville proceeded to address some very forcible remonstrances to his consort in regard to her conduct, both public and private, which were, as we may suppose, very badly received, and ended by requesting her to accompany him to Normandy, where she might more profitably employ her energies in superintending the education of her children, than in stirring up political dissension and affording material for scandalous gossip in Paris. The lady, who infinitely preferred a life of intrigue and adventure by the side of her beloved La Rochefoucauld, to the *ennui* of a sojourn in the provinces, angrily declined; and though Condé, during a visit which the ill-assorted couple paid to Chantilly, endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation, he failed, and the duke, accompanied by his daughter, departed, in high dudgeon, for Normandy, leaving his wife in Paris.

Mazarin, duly informed of the situation of affairs, hastened to turn it to account. "The Queen," he writes to Lionne, "must endeavour to take advantage of the dissatisfaction which M. de Longueville is said to feel in regard to *Monsieur le Prince* to attach him to herself. I believe that she will find him favourably disposed; and Priolo* might render useful service in this respect. Her Majesty, having secured M. de Longueville, would remain, in case of need, if any disorder arose, in complete security in Normandy; and the Parlement of Rouen would assuredly conform in all matters, and everywhere, to her orders."†

* Priolo, the author of *De Rebus Gallicis*, was Longueville's secretary, but had been, for some time past, a secret agent of the Cardinal.

† Letter of June 6, 1651, published by Chéruel.

In the complicated intrigues which were now in progress, the Queen and Mazarin found a valuable ally in the Princess Palatine. The part played by this princess in the rupture of the alliance which she had been so largely instrumental in concluding is a matter of dispute. Both Victor Cousin and the Duc d'Aumale represent her as deeply wounded by the refusal of the Condé family to carry out the engagement which she had entered into in their name. But Chéruel is of opinion that, so far from resenting this breach of faith, she had actually counselled it; and it is, at any rate, certain that she had been the intermediary through whom the first negotiations between Condé and the Court were carried on.

Even if the latter assumption is correct, as it would appear to be, there is really nothing to occasion surprise. Self-interest alone governed the politics of the Fronde; honour and good faith were of very little account, and the most solemn engagements were broken without compunction, the moment either party believed it was to its advantage to do so. The Palatine had undoubtedly been sincerely desirous to secure the permanence of the alliance between the two Frondes, so long as she believed that such a coalition could obtain for her greater advantages than she would be able to secure by any other means. But, once convinced that the Court was prepared to bid high for her support, it is unlikely that she would have hesitated to immolate her own political offspring on the altar of expediency.

And the price offered by the Court was a high one, though not quite so exalted as the princess desired to place on her services: a pension of 20,000 livres and the post of Superintendent of the Household of the future queen of Louis XIV. for herself, and that of Comptroller-General of Finance and a dukedom for the Marquis de la Vieuville,* the father of her lover, the Chevalier de la Vieuville, the Orondate of her letters to Madame de Longueville.

On these terms, the Palatine passed over to the Court and engaged to do everything in her power to secure the Cardinal's return. But she did not, as the Duc d'Aumale seems to suppose, become forthwith the enemy of Condé. On the contrary, as Mazarin's letters prove, she desired to

* The Marquis de la Vieuville had been appointed to the same office in 1623; but had been removed from it by Richelieu, on a charge of corruption, which would appear to have been but too well founded.

bring about that reconciliation between the prince and the Cardinal which she had endeavoured to effect in the previous January, but without success. It was only in the event of the failure of these negotiations, through Condé insisting on concessions which it was impossible for the Court to grant, that it was her intention to resort to other means of serving her paymaster; for which purpose, she had maintained her good relations with the Old Fronde, and doubtless affected to be greatly distressed by the rupture of the Conti-Chevreuse marriage project. "I doubt not," writes Mazarin to Lionne, "that the Princess Palatine maintains some relations with the Frondeurs, since Bartet has also told me of it, and has protested that she is so resolved to serve the Queen, particularly in what regards me, that, if by chance she found it impossible to do it by means of *Monsieur le Prince* (which she does not believe), she will try every other way, having no doubt that she will succeed therein. And, as for myself, being altogether persuaded that she is acting sincerely; that she desires to attach herself to the Queen without any reservation; that she earnestly desires to oblige me and to serve her Majesty in my person, and that we may rest assured of her fidelity, I am of opinion that it is a very great advantage for her to maintain relations with the Frondeurs, in order that, whether *Monsieur le Prince* assists or opposes my return, she may be still in a position to render me useful service."*

In the meanwhile, in conformity with the Cardinal's instructions, Anne of Austria had had several conferences with Madame de Chevreuse and Retz. The Queen had no small difficulty in overcoming her repugnance to receive and make use of the latter, whom she detested almost as much as she detested Condé; but Mazarin represented to her the necessity of flattering his ambition and vanity; and the perfect understanding which existed between them enabled them to compose and act together a little comedy, which, for the moment, seems to have completely deceived the coadjutor. One evening, the Queen showed the prelate a letter which she had received from Mazarin, and which concluded thus: "You are aware, Madame, that the greatest enemy I have in the world is the coadjutor. Avail yourself of his services, Madame, rather than negotiate with *Monsieur le Prince* on the terms which he demands. Make

* Letter of May 29, 1651.

him cardinal, give him my post, place him in my apartment; he will perhaps belong to *Monsieur*, rather than to your Majesty, but *Monsieur* does not desire the ruin of the State; his intentions at bottom are not bad. Finally, give him everything, Madame, rather than accord *Monsieur le Prince's* demands."

Retz declared that he "never in his life had seen so fine a letter," and he gives himself out as the most moderate of men for not having taken Mazarin at his word and demanded the post of Prime Minister, instead of being content with a cardinal's hat. As for the latter appointment, which had already been the cause of so many heart-burnings, Anne declared that she had always been willing to recognise the coadjutor's claims, and that the real obstacle to their being satisfied had been Châteauneuf, who desired the hat for himself. Now, however, she said, she was resolved that it should be his, after which she inquired what the future cardinal was prepared to do for her. "Madame," replied the gratified Retz; "within eight days I will compel *Monsieur le Prince* to leave Paris."*

Forthwith, the coadjutor and Madame de Chevreuse proceeded to raise the whole Fronde against Condé; and the prince found himself assailed, by the pamphleteers in Retz's pay, with almost as much virulence as had been directed against Mazarin. Condé, however, had fully expected to be subjected to such attacks, and, being as yet unaware of the negotiations which were in progress between the Court and the Frondeurs, he treated them with contempt, and abated not one jot of his pretensions.

The new allies now deliberated upon the possibility of having Condé again arrested, but they were unable to agree upon the manner in which this should be carried out. As the prince had ceased to visit the Palais-Royal, no opportunity would be afforded the Court of repeating the *coup d'État* of the previous year; and Retz therefore advised that the arrest should be effected at the Luxembourg, on the next occasion on which Condé came to visit Orléans. The timid Gaston, however, was terrified at the idea that his palace might become the theatre of a sanguinary conflict; while, on his side, Mazarin was far from desiring that Condé should fall entirely into the hands of the Frondeurs.

This plan rejected, the coadjutor, if we are to believe

* Retz, *Mémoires*.

Madame de Motteville, proposed to the Queen that Condé should be assassinated; but Anne was so shocked at the suggestion, that she ordered the conferences which she had charged Lionne to hold with Retz, at the house of the Comte de Montrésor, to be abandoned. On the other hand, Retz assures us most emphatically that this sinister proposition was made to the Queen by the Maréchal d'Hocquincourt; that her Majesty approved of it; and that it is to himself and to Madame de Chevreuse that the credit of its rejection belongs. "I know not," he writes, "if what Hocquincourt told me of the offer which he had made the Queen to kill *Monsieur le Prince*, by attacking him in the street, had not made her believe that this means was still more decisive" (*i.e.* than the plan of arresting Condé). . . . "She commanded me to confer with Hocquincourt. 'He will tell you,' said she, 'that there are surer means than that which you propose.' I saw Hocquincourt, on the morrow, at the Hôtel de Chevreuse, and he told me all the details of the offer which he had made the Queen. I was horrified at it, and I am obliged to say truthfully that Madame de Chevreuse was not less so than myself. What is astonishing, is that the Queen, who had sent me to him the evening before as though to a man who had made her a reasonable proposition, showed Madame de Chevreuse and myself that she approved strongly of our sentiments, which were assuredly very far removed from an act of this nature. She also denied absolutely that Hocquincourt had explained the matter to her as he had to us. That is the fact upon which you are able to base your conjectures."

That a proposal to assassinate Condé was made to the Queen is beyond question. On this point evidence abounds and leaves no possible doubt. By whom it was made is less certain. Montglat, then Master of the Wardrobe, and in a position to learn all the rumours of the Court, is in agreement with Retz in making Hocquincourt its author, associating with him the Comte d'Harcourt. But both he and La Rochefoucauld—who does not name any one—agree with Madame de Motteville that the Queen rejected the suggestion with indignation. These testimonies, joined to the fact that both Anne of Austria and Mazarin were always strongly opposed to bloodshed, and that there is not one solitary instance during the Regency of a person being put to death for political offences, makes it clear that

we must acquit the Queen and the Cardinal—since whoever accuses the first, accuses the second—of any homicidal intentions. Besides, what had Anne to gain by such a deed? Absolutely nothing. The assassination of Condé would have provoked the most widespread indignation; the Fronde, delivered from such an adversary, would have turned against her more powerful than ever, with all its forces reunited, and she would have been ruined. For the same reasons, as Victor Cousin points out, Retz and Madame de Chevreuse had every interest in the death of the prince. "They had only two enemies, Mazarin and Condé. Mazarin was in exile, crushed under the weight of a reprobation then universal and irresistible. There was then between them and power but a single obstacle, and this obstacle they were not disposed to respect, if they believed themselves able to overcome it."* And what was the character of these two persons? Madame de Chevreuse, the accomplice of Chalais and of many others, who, in 1643, had, in conjunction with Madame de Montbazon, instigated Beaufort to assassinate Mazarin, and who was at this moment inflamed with resentment against Condé, owing to the gross affront he had put upon her! And Retz, who confesses, in his *Mémoires*, to have been a party to one of the most sinister conspiracies against the life of Richelieu, and whom Madame de Chevreuse governed through her daughter! When, too, we consider that Madame de Motteville, the author of the charge against Retz, is perhaps the most reliable of all contemporary chroniclers, invariably well-informed, honest, and temperate in her judgments, it is difficult to believe that she would have made so grave an accusation, unless she had been very sure indeed.

It would therefore appear most probable that two proposals were made to Anne of Austria: one, by Retz, of direct assassination, which the Queen indignantly rejected; the other, by Hocquincourt, of the arrest of Condé, if necessary by force of arms, which she likewise rejected, fearing that such a design would be impracticable without bloodshed; and that Hocquincourt's proposition was magnified by Retz, in order to divert suspicion from himself, and by Montglat, in all good faith, into a homicidal one.

However that may be, *Monsieur le Prince* received

* Victor Cousin, *Madame de Longueville pendant la Fronde.*

warning that his liberty, if not his life, was menaced, and the prospect filled him with alarm. He despised death, but his recent experiences had inspired him with an inconceivable dread of imprisonment, and he knew well that, if he again fell into the hands of his enemies, he would be treated much more harshly than in 1650, and would probably remain in captivity for years. Too proud to quit Paris, he, nevertheless, took every possible precaution against surprise; he barricaded the windows of the Hôtel de Condé, placed sentries in the garden, and never went out, unless accompanied by a great number of guards and servants. It was obvious that the crisis could not be long delayed, and it was hastened by the following incident.

On the night of July 5–6, Condé had just retired to bed and was talking to one of his friends, Vineuil, when he received a mysterious note warning him that two companies of the Gardes Françaises were advancing in the direction of the Faubourg Saint-Germain. It was subsequently ascertained that the soldiers had been despatched for a wholly specific purpose, namely, to frustrate an expected attempt to smuggle a large quantity of wine into the city; but Condé, convinced that the hour which he so much dreaded had arrived, and that they were coming to invest his hôtel, sprang out of bed, hastily dressed, and, mounting his horse, and accompanied by a few of his people, left the city by the Porte Saint-Michel and took the road to his château of Saint-Maur, situated some two leagues from Paris, at the South-Eastern extremity of the Bois de Vincennes.

Having reached the open country, he drew rein and remained for some time on the high-road, waiting for news of his brother, to whom he had sent warning before leaving Paris. Suddenly he heard the hoof-beats of a numerous cavalcade approaching from the direction in which he intended to proceed, and, never doubting that it must be a squadron of cavalry sent to cut off his retreat, he turned his horse's head and galloped across the fields to Fleury, at the foot of the hill of Meudon. Here he learned that the sound which had occasioned his alarm proceeded from a band of peasants, who were driving their asses laden with poultry and vegetables to the Paris market; and, having laughed heartily over his discomfiture by such foes, he resumed his journey to Saint-Maur, where he arrived about six o'clock on the morning of the 6th.

CHAPTER XX

"THE SWORD IS DRAWN"

THE sensation in Paris may be imagined when the news spread that Condé, under the impression that he was about to be rearrested, had secretly quitted the city and retired to Saint-Maur. The prince himself did not allow the motive of his retreat to remain long in doubt, for, scarcely had he arrived, than he despatched messengers to the capital, to inform his relatives and friends of the step he had taken, and to summon them to join him. *Madame la Princesse*, Conti, Madame de Longueville, La Rochefoucauld, the Duc de Nemours, and the Président Viole immediately hastened to Saint-Maur, and were followed by "an infinite number of those uncertain persons who offer themselves at the beginning of parties, and betray or abandon them in accordance with their fears or their interests."* Among these, were the Duc de Bouillon and Turenne, who were still hesitating between the Court and Condé.

Later in the day, the Maréchal de Gramont arrived at Saint-Maur, on behalf of the Queen and Orléans, to assure the prince that his retreat had been due to an entire misapprehension, that there were no designs against his person, and that he might return to Paris and visit the Palais-Royal in perfect security. The marshal, however, had been despatched merely for effect, and, notwithstanding that he was a personal friend of Condé, he met with a very discourteous reception. The prince sent word that he was unable to listen to him except in public, and descended into the outer court of the château, where he obliged him to discharge his mission in the presence, not only of his friends, but "of all the lackeys and scullions of the house." He then informed him that he was unable to place any confidence in the Queen, so long as she was surrounded by the creatures of Mazarin; while, as for *Monsieur*, although he was very sensible of his assurances of friendship and protection,

* La Rochefoucauld, *Mémoires*.

he "besought him to make no promises which he would be unable to keep."

On the following day, the matter was brought before the Parlement, whither the Prince de Conti came to explain to the assembly the causes of his brother's sudden retirement to Saint-Maur, which he attributed to the secret influence which Mazarin continued to exercise in the Council, through his agents, Le Tellier, Lionne, and Servien. Condé himself wrote a letter to the Parlement, declaring that he would not return to Paris until the three Ministers mentioned, who, he asserted, were merely valets of Mazarin, had been dismissed. Retz and Orléans, who, it had been decided, were not to undertake any public support of the Cardinal, lest such action should deprive them of their influence with the magistrates and the citizens, supported this demand. But, in the end, it was agreed that the dismissal of the Ministers should not be insisted upon, and that the Queen should be merely asked to confirm, in writing, the assurance she had given not to recall Mazarin, and to guarantee the safety of the Prince de Condé, who should be entreated to return to Paris.

Condé remained at Saint-Maur until July 23, very much perplexed as to what course to pursue. Madame de Longueville, Conti, Nemours, Bouillon, and Turenne were with him; and the Princess Palatine, who had not yet given up all hopes of effecting a reconciliation between *Monsieur le Prince* and Mazarin, joined them on more than one occasion. The Palatine, Bouillon, and Turenne united their efforts to draw the prince back from the precipice upon whose brink he already stood. They pointed out how infinitely to his advantage it would be to come to an understanding with the Court, and remain in peaceable possession of the great power which was already his, than to hazard all by embarking in a war which would be the ruin of France; while the two brothers, who, in the last war—the one at Bordeaux, the other at Stenai—had learned the futility of counting upon the promises of Spain, warned him of the danger of basing his hopes of success upon assistance from that quarter.

Madame de Longueville, however, urged her brother to civil war, and Nemours and the Président Viole were also in favour of an open rupture with the Court. Condé's

natural impetuosity of character and ambitious views inclined him to the same course, and, on June 22, he yielded to their persuasions, so far as to sign with them the following treaty :

" We, the undersigned, declare that we persist in the will and intention we have of procuring the safety of the person of *Monsieur le Prince*, and of all those who will sign the present document, by every kind of means, even by arms, if need be, and to permit no occasion to pass of taking them up, until we shall have such certain assurances, with the avowal and consent of all, that we may have no further suspicions that designs can be undertaken against our persons.

" We moreover promise to listen to no proposals, nor to enter into any negotiation, without the express consent of the undersigned.

" And, if it should happen that it becomes necessary to take up arms, they cannot be laid down, unless each of the undersigned be satisfied in his interests, which he will declare when they are taken up."

The signatures appended to this treaty, the original of which is preserved at Chantilly, were those of Condé, Madame de Longueville, Conti, Nemours, Viole and La Rochefoucauld ; the body of the document being in the handwriting of the last named.

Although the treaty was in La Rochefoucauld's handwriting, its terms were, in all probability, dictated by Madame de Longueville, for all contemporary writers seem to be agreed that it was she who more than any one inspired Condé to the fatal resolution that he ended by taking. In the spring, when influenced more by personal than political considerations, she had counselled the rupture of the Chevreuse marriage, which had led to the perilous situation in which her brother now found himself, her thoughts had been very far from civil war, and it is certain that she had taken a very important, if unacknowledged, part in his negotiations with the Court. She was willing enough that her family should sell their support to the Regent and Mazarin, if the latter were prepared to pay the exorbitant price which they demanded for it, and create " a kingdom of the South " for their benefit. But, when these ambitious schemes failed ; when from negotiations with Condé, the Court passed to intrigues with the Frondeurs ; when she saw her brother threatened

in his liberty, if not in his life—it was then that, filled with indignation and alarm, she reverted to her warlike ardour of 1649 and 1650. She appears to have been deluded by the expressions of sympathy which Condé received from the crowd of "uncertain persons" who flocked to Saint-Maur into the belief that the flower of the aristocracy would rally round his standard, forgetting that the King's majority was close at hand, and that, when that time arrived, the specious pretext that they were in arms, not against their sovereign, but against his evil advisers, would avail no longer. She believed that on the field of battle nothing could prevail against the victor of Rocroi and Lens, seconded as he would be by Turenne, for she could not conceive that a man who had shown such unflinching loyalty to her brother's interests and such devotion to herself, during the imprisonment of the princes, would fail them in their hour of need; and, notwithstanding past experiences, she still placed reliance on the promises of the Spaniards, who always treated her with the utmost deference. For these reasons, she urged Condé to have done with useless negotiations, and to appeal to arms.

But there was another, and a purely personal, motive, which, if Madame de Longueville did not see fit to insist upon it in the conferences at Saint-Maur, had, nevertheless, perhaps more influence than any in confirming her in her desire for war.

We have seen that the princess had refused to accompany her husband to Normandy, and that the latter had retired to his government, more displeased than ever with the conduct of his wife. Here he took up a neutral attitude, which compromised him neither with the Court nor with the party of the princes; but, if his political intentions were still uncertain, he soon decided upon the course to be pursued in his domestic difficulty, and sent his wife imperative orders to return to him, intimating that, if she continued contumacious, most unpleasant consequences might follow.

Now, in those days, such threats were not to be lightly disregarded, for if monsieur, as a general rule, held the reins so loosely that madame was scarcely conscious of being under any control, they could, when occasion arose, be drawn mercilessly tight. A jealous or tyrannical husband who stood well at Court could, on a very slight

pretext, obtain a *lettre de cachet* empowering him to shut his wife up in a convent, or he might keep her a close prisoner in one of his own châteaux, carefully guarded by trusted servants. Thus, to cite only a few out of many instances, the beautiful Sidonie de Lenoncourt, Marquise de Courcelles, was shut up by her husband in the Couvent des Filles-de-Sainte-Marie, near the Bastille; Hortense Mancini, Duchesse de Mazarin, in the same institution; her sister Marianne, Duchesse de Bouillon, in the Couvent de Montreuil, "to give her an opportunity for salutary reflections;" while, in 1671, the Princesse de Condé was imprisoned by *Monsieur le Prince* at Châteauroux, where she remained for the rest of her days.

Madame de Longueville was therefore greatly alarmed, for no prospect could well be more appalling to her than that of an indefinite sojourn amid the solitude and monotony of the provinces. "I do not love the chase, nor to walk through the woods, nor to play at games," she once observed; "I do not love innocent pleasures." The natural distaste which she felt for such an existence was increased by the knowledge that the duke was now greatly incensed against her and entirely under the influence of his daughter; and she felt convinced that, once in Normandy, she would never leave it again, and would spend the rest of her life between an elderly and irritable husband and a spiteful and jealous step-daughter, who would lose no opportunity of inflicting upon her every annoyance in her power. The picture of the dreary life which awaited her in Normandy had very much the same effect upon her as that of a new captivity upon the mind of Condé; to escape it, she felt that she would be prepared to endure everything, to dare everything. Yet there was but one way of escape—war—which would enable her to continue her life of intrigue and adventure, under the specious pretext that it was impossible to abandon her brother. Rather than suffer herself to be buried alive in a Norman château, she felt that she would be justified in embroiling all France.

However, Condé was not yet ready for an armed struggle against the royal authority, and, on the advice of La Rochefoucauld, he continued to negotiate. La Rochefoucauld, though he had drawn up and signed the Treaty of Saint-Maur, and feigned, at times, to share the bellicose disposition of his mistress, inclined at heart towards a

reconciliation with the Court. He had already lost far more by rebellion than he was ever likely to gain ; in the last war, his splendid château of Verteuil had been nearly razed to the ground and his estates ravaged by the royal troops, and it would require years of retrenchment to repair the losses that his misplaced ambition had brought upon him. He was tired of war, which had hitherto proved, so far as he was concerned, a most ruinous speculation, and, like a prudent gambler, he desired to cut his losses. Besides, he had personally little cause for complaint against the Court, for, although the Regent had professed herself unable to give him Blaye, which it is doubtful if he had ever very ardently coveted, she had willingly acceded to his request that his eldest son, the Prince de Marsillac, should have the reversion of his government of Poitou ; and it seemed not improbable that this was an earnest of future favours. Unhappily, La Rochefoucauld "possessed neither vigour nor constancy either in good or evil,"* and he continued to oscillate between a policy of defiance and a policy of reconciliation, spending, according to Retz, all his mornings creating imbroglios, and all his evenings labouring for reconciliations. This perpetual vacillation deprived his counsels of all real weight ; and there can be no question that the chief influence in the party of the princes was wielded, not by him, but by the woman who had formerly been his docile pupil.

In accordance with La Rochefoucauld's advice, Condé had several interviews with Gaston d'Orléans, at the house of a financier named Rambouillet, in the Rue de la Planchette, in which he insisted on the dismissal of the "valets of Mazarin," declaring that, so long as they remained in office, he would not return to Paris. The Queen resisted for some days, but, finally, she decided to comply with the prince's demand, foreseeing that by so doing he would be placed wholly in the wrong, if he persisted in his hostile attitude. Accordingly, on July 19, Le Tellier, Servien, and Lionne were dismissed, and they retired to their country-houses, with the assurance that their disgrace was but a nominal one, and that they might expect a speedy recall.

The dismissal of the three Ministers deprived Condé of all pretext for remaining longer at Saint-Maur, and,

* Victor Cousin, *Madame de Longueville pendant la Fronde.*

on July 23, he returned to Paris; but he brought with him neither his wife nor his son, whom he sent to his fortified château of Montrond, in his government of Berry. They were accompanied by Madame de Longueville, who had consented with great reluctance to the negotiations counselled by La Rochefoucauld, and who, while awaiting their result, considered it advisable to place as great a distance as possible between herself and her wrathful lord. She took with her her eldest son; but M. de Longueville demanded that the boy should be sent to him, and in language so threatening, that she dared not disobey. After a short stay at Montrond, she went into "retreat" with the Carmelites of Bourges, but unhappily her sojourn among the pious sisters did not, as we shall presently see, inspire her with any more pacific inclinations.

It might have been supposed that, since the Regent had yielded the point on which Condé had so strongly insisted, that prince would have returned to the capital in a more conciliatory mood, which would have rendered it possible for negotiations with the Court to be resumed with some hope of success. But, so far from this being the case, he affected, from the first, so arrogant and hostile a tone as to incense both the King and Queen, and alienate many who had hitherto regarded him with a certain degree of sympathy. For some time, he obstinately refused to pay the customary visit of respect to their Majesties, though he went in great state to visit Gaston d'Orléans and other prominent members of the Court, and passed before the Palais-Royal, accompanied by eight magnificent coaches, which he had caused to be built for his solemn entry into Bordeaux, and a great body of gorgeously attired officers and lackeys. Meeting the young King one day, by accident, on the Cours-la-Reine, he saluted him, but without descending from his carriage to do so, as usage demanded, a breach of etiquette which so irritated Louis XIV., already beginning to be exceedingly tenacious of his dignity, that, according to the Venetian Ambassador, Morosini, he was heard to declare, that, if he had had his guards with him, he would have ordered them to arrest *Monsieur le Prince*.*

Moreover, Condé's demands grew every day more intolerable. The dismissal of the Ministers had served

* Despatch of August 1, 1651.

only to increase his arrogance, and he and his friends in the Parlement now demanded that all persons suspected of being in communication with Mazarin should be similarly disgraced. In consequence, Anne of Austria was compelled to dismiss from Court the Marquis de Navailles and his wife, two of her most trusted confidants; while the Duc de Mercœur, whose only crime was that he had had the temerity to carry out his engagement and marry the Cardinal's niece, Laure Mancini, was threatened with a prosecution.

This tyranny decided the Queen to transform without delay the understanding which she had had for some weeks past with the Frondeurs into a definite alliance; and, towards the middle of August, while La Rochefoucauld was exhausting himself in futile efforts to bring about a settlement, articles of agreement between the two parties were drawn up and signed, with the object of overwhelming Condé. By these articles, it was provided that the Frondeurs, in order to maintain their popularity with the people, should continue to denounce Mazarin in the Parlement, until they judged that the time was ripe for declaring openly in his favour, although, in the meanwhile, they would work in secret to promote his recall; Châteauneuf was to be again Prime Minister, though the Seals were to be given to Molé; La Vieuville was to be Comptroller-General; Retz to be nominated to the cardinalate, and to be made a Minister after the meeting of the States-General; while Mazarin's eldest nephew, Paul Mancini, was to be provided with the duchy of Nevers or that of Rethelois, and then to marry Mlle. de Chevreuse. Madame de Chevreuse, Retz, and Châteauneuf agreed to do all in their power to induce *Monsieur*, who was as usual in a pitiable state of uncertainty, to detach himself definitely from Condé.

It is not a little singular that, though all the parties to this treaty were acting in bad faith, nearly all its provisions were executed. Retz wished to secure his Cardinal's hat, without assisting in the re-establishment of Mazarin, whom, as a matter of fact, he was resolved to supplant. Châteauneuf was determined that, once Prime Minister, he would never yield his place to the Cardinal. Finally, Mazarin desired to secure Retz's help by the nomination to the cardinalate, and to prevent him actually receiving the promotion, and Châteauneuf's co-operation by the

post of Prime Minister, without allowing him to retain it. However, circumstances were too strong for these ingenious schemers. Retz became a cardinal; Châteauneuf was, for a while, Prime Minister; and Mazarin eventually returned to power. The only article which was not fulfilled was the clause which provided for the marriage of Paul Mancini and Mlle. de Chevreuse; but that was not the fault of the signatories to the treaty, since, a few months later, Mlle. de Chevreuse was seized with a sudden and fatal illness, while the Cardinal's nephew died of the wounds he received in the combat of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine.

The Queen, being now assured of the co-operation of the Frondeurs, felt strong enough for an open struggle with Condé; and, having engaged Retz to maintain her cause in the Parlement, she, on August 17, launched against the prince a declaration, in which she charged him with ingratitude, contempt for the royal authority, criminal alliances with the enemies of the realm, and a desire to subvert the State. Once more was the Palais de Justice—that supposed sanctuary of justice and the laws—converted into an armed camp; and the disgraceful scenes which had marked the trial of Retz, Beaufort and Broussel, for their supposed conspiracy against the life of Condé, in December, 1649, were repeated on an exaggerated scale. *Monsieur le Prince* and the coadjutor came down to the Parlement, accompanied by bands of retainers and hired desperadoes, armed to the teeth, who posed themselves in the Salle des Pas Perdus, "separated only by the length of their swords." The magistrates, in great trepidation—some of them, having received warning of what might be expected, had taken the precaution to conceal swords and daggers under their gowns—declared that they would refuse to deliberate while armed men occupied the palace. Condé thereupon announced his readiness to send his followers away, and Retz declared that he would do the same with his. The prince accordingly despatched La Rochefoucauld to communicate his orders to their partisans, while the coadjutor went in person to disband his own forces. At sight of the latter, however, and before he could utter a word, an indescribable tumult arose; hundreds of swords were brandished in the air, and it seemed as though in another moment the two parties would be engaged in a desperate struggle. Happily,

the leaders on both sides succeeded in restraining the ardour of their followers; and Retz, fearing that his presence might excite a fresh outbreak, decided to return to the Grande Chambre. But, as he was attempting to enter, he found himself seized by La Rochefoucauld, who held him a close prisoner between the heavy folding-doors, while he cried to two of his followers to come and kill him. They hesitated; but a third man came up, with a poniard in his hand, and would have stabbed the coadjutor, had not one of the latter's friends covered him with his cloak. "Finally," writes Retz, "M. de Champlâtreux,* seeing me in this extremity, pushed M. de La Rochefoucauld vigorously aside and opened the door."†

The prelate then returned to his seat, from which he addressed the assembly, related what had passed, and accused La Rochefoucauld of having attempted to murder him. "M. de La Rochefoucauld shouted at me: 'Traitor! I care little what becomes of you.' I answered him in these words: 'Very good, my friend Frankness [it was the name we had given him in our party], you are a poltroon [I lied, for he was certainly very brave], and I am a priest; the duel is forbidden us.' M. de Brissac, who sat immediately above, threatened to strike him with his cane; the presidents threw themselves between us."

That evening, the Duc de Brissac, who was related to the coadjutor, sent to challenge La Rochefoucauld to a duel; but Gaston d'Orléans intervened, and persuaded them to consent to a formal reconciliation.

After the tragedy came the comedy. On the day following the scenes we have just related, Retz, attired in his episcopal vestments, was leading a religious procession, when he encountered Condé and La Rochefoucauld, attended by a band of their followers, returning from the Palais de Justice. Some of Condé's partisans began to hoot the coadjutor, but the prince sternly silenced them; and he and La Rochefoucauld, alighting from their coach, knelt, bareheaded, in the dust to receive the episcopal benediction. "I gave it them," writes Retz, "with my biretta on my head; then I at once removed it

* Louis Molé, Seigneur de Champlâtreux. He was the eldest son of the First President.

† Retz's account of this affair is confirmed by several chroniclers, and also by the correspondents of Mazarin. La Rochefoucauld himself confesses that he was tempted to terminate the coadjutor's turbulence by a violent death, and seems to regret that Condé's followers did not embrace so excellent an opportunity.

and made them a profound reverence." "This benediction," adds La Rochefoucauld, in his turn, "was received with every appearance of respect, although neither of the two wished it to have the effect which the coadjutor might desire."

The charges against Condé were not pressed; indeed, on September 5, the Queen, on the mediation of Orléans, sent to the Parlement a letter formally exonerating the prince from the accusations made against him, accompanying it by a new declaration against Mazarin. But, under the pretext of giving more solemnity to the former decree, she requested that it should not be promulgated until after the King's majority. "It was to take away with one hand what was given with the other," observes the Duc d'Aumale.*

On September 6, Louis XIV. would complete his thirteenth year, and attain the age which the laws of France fixed for the majority of her kings. On the following day, his Majesty, before proceeding to the Parlement, where his majority would be solemnly proclaimed, would receive at the Palais-Royal, the homage of the Queen-Mother, Orléans, the Princes of the Blood, the marshals and peers of France, and the other grandees of the realm. On the 5th, *Monsieur le Prince* convened at the Hôtel de Condé a meeting of his principal adherents, to take their advice as to whether he should attend the ceremony. The declaration proclaiming his innocence which had been read to the Parlement that morning left him no excuse for absenting himself, and his more moderate counsellors were of opinion that he ought not to neglect the duty he owed his sovereign. But the most saw in this declaration of innocence, which was not yet ratified, nothing but a ruse to conceal the perfidious projects of the Court, and they strove to dissuade him from appearing at the Palais-Royal. Their advice, unhappily, coincided with the prince's own inclinations, and he decided to follow it. Accordingly, he wrote a letter to the King, excusing himself from coming in person to offer his homage, on the ground that his enemies had rendered him so odious in his Majesty's eyes, that he felt that he could not assist without danger at the proclamation of his majority.

On the following morning, as Louis XIV., surrounded by his relatives, the officers of the Crown, and the grandees

* *Histoire des Princes de Condé.*

of his realm, was preparing to set out for the Palais de Justice, the Prince de Conti approached, and handed him his brother's letter. The young King, however, did not even open it; but, with a disdainful gesture, passed it to his *gouverneur*, the Maréchal de Villeroi. The letter was, however, read by Anne of Austria later in the day, who was so much exasperated by its contents, that, turning to Retz, she exclaimed: "*Monsieur le Prince* shall perish, or I will!"*

While the King, in the midst of a magnificent *cortège*, was wending his way through the cheering crowds to the Palais de Justice, the first Prince of the Blood, whose place should have been by his sovereign's side, was hastening to his brother-in-law's château of Trie, in Normandy, with the object of persuading the Duc de Longueville to join him in open resistance to the royal authority. He came, however, on a bootless errand. The duke, for the reasons that we have already given, received his propositions very coldly. It was in vain that *Monsieur le Prince* recalled to him their common misfortunes, pointed out the necessity of their being united, and that honour, no less than expediency, enjoined upon him to render him all the assistance in his power. Longueville replied that it was no longer a question of opposing Mazarin, but the King himself, which increased the danger and rendered defections probable; that he placed but little confidence in the assistance promised by Condé's friends, and still less in the assurances of the Spaniards, who invariably promised more than they were either able or willing to perform; and he concluded by imploring his brother-in-law to think well before plunging his country into a new civil war. As for himself, he had neither troops nor money, and was therefore not in a position to render him any effective support. "You abandon me, then," exclaimed Condé bitterly, "and leave me to the vengeance of my enemies!" Longueville, says his secretary Priolo, who was present at the interview, touched by these words, or perhaps wishing to terminate so embarrassing a conference, ended by "promising everything." But scarcely had the prince departed, than, with the fear of the dungeons of Vincennes before his eyes, he determined to remain peaceably in his province.†

On quitting Trie, Condé did not return to Paris, but

* Retz, *Mémoires.* † Priolo, *De Rebus Gallicis.*

proceeded to Chantilly.* He had learned of the intention of the Court to carry out the changes in the Ministry which had been agreed upon in its alliance with the Frondeurs, and he considered the reorganised Cabinet, with Châteauneuf, the enemy of his House, at its head, as a veritable declaration of war. He despatched Priolo, who had followed him from Normandy, to beg the King to defer making the proposed appointments for three days, promising that, if his Majesty consented, he would return to the capital. But, though Orléans, mortified himself at not having been consulted in such an important matter, supported this proposition in the Council, the young King haughtily refused to consider it, and Châteauneuf, Molé, and La Vieuville received their respective nominations that same day.†

On September 9, the day following these appointments, Condé summoned a meeting of his partisans at Chantilly. Many failed to answer the call, for the attitude taken up by the prince filled the more cautious with alarm, and they reflected that to make war upon the King of France was a very different matter from resisting the will of a Spanish regent and an Italian minister. Condé himself was perplexed and troubled. Now that he had actually come to the verge of the abyss, he found many reasons to deter him from taking the final step, and "pondered long the consequences of so momentous an affair."‡ Profoundly selfish though he was, he had seen enough of the miseries of civil war in the first Fronde to cause him to hesitate before plunging the country into another such conflict to gratify his own ambition and vanity. Nor could he disguise from himself that the issue was extremely doubtful. He believed himself sure—with how little reason we shall presently see—of the Duc de Bouillon and Turenne, with their military skill, their great territorial influence, and their popularity among the French Protestants; but, on the other hand, the attitude of Longueville, of the Maréchal de la Mothe-Houdancourt,

* According to his biographer, Desormeaux, he narrowly escaped falling into an ambuscade which the Court had laid at Pontoise.

† Châteauneuf was made chief of the Council of Despatches, a council which regulated the affairs of the provinces, and became in reality Prime Minister, though without having the title. Molé replaced Séguier, and La Vieuville, the Président de Maisons.

‡ La Rochefoucauld.

and of other nobles upon whose co-operation he had confidently counted, caused him much uneasiness.

There was, moreover, a sentimental motive which increased his reluctance to commit himself irrevocably. He had become passionately enamoured of the widowed Duchesse de Châtillon, who now resided not far from Chantilly, in the beautiful château of Merlou, or Mello, which had been left her for her life by Charlotte de Montmorency, Princesse de Condé; and war might mean an indefinite separation from his mistress. This charming, though very calculating lady, who managed with infinite skill her haughty lover, the while her heart belonged to his friend, the handsome Duc de Nemours, had been gained by the Court, and, for some time past, had exerted all her influence over Condé to bring him to a more pacific frame of mind. Her endeavours had provoked the indignation of Madame de Longueville, who had not forgiven the duchess her successful intrigues during the last illness of *Madame la Princesse;* and the result had been an open quarrel between the two ladies, once such sworn friends.

If any honourable accommodation had still been possible, there is every reason to believe that Condé would have welcomed it; but the only mediation which he could accept was that of Orléans, who was governed by Retz and Madame de Chevreuse, and was not to be depended upon. The ever-present dread of arrest, too, made him fear that it was unwise to remain any longer at Chantilly, and he therefore decided to withdraw to his government of Berry, whither he had already sent his wife, his son, and his sister, and where the citadel of Bourges, or his own strongly fortified château of Montrond, would afford him a safe asylum. In Berry, among a population which was devoted to the House of Condé, and with his partisans rallying round him, he would be in a far better position to treat with the Court, than in the midst of miserable intrigues in which he risked not only his honour, but his liberty as well.

Anxious, however, to give the Court a last opportunity of holding out the olive-branch before he definitely raised the standard of revolt, he charged Orléans to demand of the Queen an explanation of the ministerial changes which had just been made in defiance of his protests, and an assurance that no design was contemplated against his person. Then he set out for the country-house of his

friend the Président Perrault, at Augerville-la-Rivière, near Pithiviers, where he had informed *Monsieur* that he would await the Queen's reply.

According to La Rochefoucauld, Orléans obtained from the Queen the satisfaction demanded, but Fouquet-Croissy, whom he entrusted with the news, did not reach Augerville until after Condé had resumed his journey; and, when he overtook him at Bourges, the prince, encouraged by the enthusiastic reception which he had met with in his government, and believing that all France would imitate Berry, refused to consider the propositions he brought, and no longer hesitated to take up arms.* But Retz, whose testimony is, in this instance, to be preferred, since it is based upon that of Croissy himself, and, unlike La Rochefoucauld, he has here no interest in concealing the truth, says that Croissy found Condé very disposed to accept the proposals of the Court,† but that he was overruled by his relatives and friends, who dragged him into war to serve their own ends, particularly Madame de Longueville, who saw herself freed thereby from the necessity of joining her husband in Normandy.

Condé only remained a few hours at Bourges, and then, taking Croissy with him, set out for Montrond, where Madame de Longueville, Conti, La Rochefoucauld, Nemours, Lenet, and Viole had joined *Madame la Princesse*. Here, on September 15, the last conference was held. The Prince still hesitated, pleading his aversion to civil war, the strength of the royal forces, the magic of the name of the King, the many defections which had already occurred in their party, and the danger of relying on the promises of the Spaniards. But Madame de Longueville urged him on to the breach, and drew the others along with her, and she ended by triumphing over her brother's last scruples. It was then that Condé uttered that prediction so often quoted, and which was to prove so true: "You compel me to draw the sword. Well, let it be so! Remember that I shall be the last to replace it in its scabbard."

* Guy Joly says that Condé received the letter on horseback, and read it without dismounting, after which he turned, and, addressing those about him, said: "If this letter had reached me a little sooner, it would have stopped me, but, being now in my saddle, I will not dismount for uncertain hopes." But Joly had a singularly fertile imagination.

† The proposals were that the States-General should be immediately summoned, and that, in the meanwhile, Condé should remain in one of his governments, in which case, no attempt would be made to molest him.

CHAPTER XXI

THE HOUSE OF CONDÉ AGAINST FRANCE

THE fatal resolution once taken, Condé acted with energy and decision. He sent back Croissy to *Monsieur*, with a haughty refusal of the propositions of the Court. He despatched the faithful Lenet to Madrid, to conclude with Spain a treaty which should assure him subsidies and soldiers. He wrote to the Comte de Marsin, who commanded in Catalonia, begging him to join him in Guienne as speedily as possible, with all the troops that he could induce to follow him. He ordered *Madame la Princesse* to remain at Montrond; while he directed Madame de Longueville, Conti, Nemours, and Viole to proceed to Bourges, and endeavour to incite that town and the whole of Berry to revolt. Then, accompanied by La Rochefoucauld, he set out for Bordeaux, which he intended to make his headquarters.

Condé had confidently anticipated that his relatives and Nemours would experience little difficulty in inducing a province with which his family had been for so long closely identified to declare in his favour, which effected, they would be able to devote themselves to raising the neighbouring provinces, and giving assistance to the friends of La Rochefoucauld in Poitou, who were already preparing to revolt, and to the Comte du Daugnon in Saintonge and Aunis. In this expectation he was doomed to disappointment. Conti, whom he had left at the head of affairs, was entirely destitute not only of political capacity, but of ordinary tact; while Nemours, to whom he had entrusted the military command, though a brave soldier, knew neither how to organise an army nor how to employ one when raised. The bulk of the citizens of Bourges, unlike the Bordelais, were quiet and peaceably disposed folk. They had received Condé, during his brief stay among them, with applause and expressions of sympathy; but they did not consider that the fact of *Monsieur le Prince* having a grievance against the Court, and of his followers being in need of excitement, were adequate

motives for a new civil war, and they had not the smallest desire to take part in it. Nor was the conduct of the Prince de Conti at all calculated to alter their views. Instead of endeavouring to gain supporters for his brother by plausible arguments and adroit compliments, he conducted himself with the utmost violence against all whom he suspected of favouring the royal cause. Meeting, one day, in the street, the Lieutenant-General of the Présidial, he seized him by the collar, crying out that he was a "Mazarin," and dragged him off a prisoner to the Grosse Tour—as the citadel of Bourges was called—while a mob followed, pelting the unfortunate officer with mud and loading him with insults.* As for Nemours, though still enamoured of the Duchesse de Châtillon, he found it far more congenial to make love to Madame de Longueville than to employ himself in raising and arming soldiers. The result was that, instead of making Berry a focus of military and political resistance, Conti and Nemours found themselves speedily reduced to act on the defensive; for the new Prime Minister, Châteauneuf, advised that the insurrection in that province should be promptly crushed before it had had time to spread, and that the King himself should proceed to the seat of hostilities; and, on September 26, their Majesties left Paris, with an army of 4,000 men, and marched rapidly Southwards, by way of Montargis and Gien.

At the news of the young King's approach, the citizens of Bourges began to manifest their royalist sympathies in so unmistakable a manner, that Madame de Longueville, her brother, and Nemours judged it prudent to beat a retreat without loss of time, and accordingly retired to Montrond. The day after their departure, Louis XIV. made his entry into the town, and was greeted with the utmost enthusiasm. The Grosse Tour, though garrisoned by Condé's soldiers, surrendered without firing a shot, upon which the King ordered it to be razed to the ground, and with his own hand pulled down the first stone.

Châteauneuf, who acted with a vigour and decision which showed that the interests of the Crown had fallen into far from incapable hands, now detached part of the army under the Comte de Palluau to lay siege to Montrond, while he himself, with the King and Queen, set out for Poitou, his intention being, after restoring order in that

* Montglat.

province, to advance into Guienne. Conti and Nemours, learning of the approach of Palluau, and being unwilling to expose the two princesses and the little Duc d'Enghien to the risks of a siege, thereupon decided to quit the château—the defence of which they entrusted to the Marquis de Persan—and escort their charges to Bordeaux, where they arrived at the end of October.

It was during their stay at Bourges and Montrond, and their journey from Berry to Bordeaux, that relations appear to have been formed between the Duc de Nemours and Madame de Longueville, which, exaggerated by rumour, reached La Rochefoucauld, and were followed by consequences very distressing to the princess.

We have mentioned that the gallant Nemours had preferred making love to Madame de Longueville to discharging the onerous military duties with which Condé had entrusted him. His attentions seem to have been not unfavourably received. The beautiful duchess, although entirely faithful to La Rochefoucauld, was naturally coquettish, and never scrupled to employ the power of her charms to gain adherents to her brother's cause, or to confirm in their loyalty those whom she suspected of meditating desertion. But, as we have seen at Stenai, she was accustomed to place very strict limits to her complacency, and, when any of her numerous adorers became too importunate, to intimate to them in an unmistakable manner the futility of their hopes. There is, indeed, no reason to suppose that Madame de Longueville was ever anything but faithful in her infidelity, or that Nemours succeeded in triumphing over a devotion which had been proof against so many assaults; but, at the same time, there can be no doubt that she gave the handsome duke an amount of encouragement which occasioned general comment, and was calculated to give serious umbrage to a jealous lover.

Her conduct, however, is not difficult to explain. "M. de Nemours," says her step-daughter, who subsequently became the wife of the duke's younger brother and successor, "had formerly not been particularly favoured by Madame de Longueville; and, notwithstanding the devotion he appeared to entertain for her, as well as the good qualities and fine manners which he possessed, she found nothing charming about him, save the wish that

he expressed to leave Madame de Châtillon for her, and that which she had to take away from a woman whom she disliked a friend of this consequence."* Between the two duchesses there had always been a strong, and, of late, a somewhat bitter, emulation, and Madame de Longueville was by no means averse to robbing a detested rival of a lover of whom the latter believed herself so very sure. But her chief motive in seeking to detach Nemours from Madame de Châtillon was a much deeper one than the paltry desire to inflict upon the latter a mortification which she no doubt thought well deserved. Madame de Châtillon, gained by the gold of the Court, had used all her influence over Nemours to induce him to desert Condé's party; and, though the duke's fidelity to his friend was not to be shaken, even by his passion for herself, he had apparently consented to do all in his power to persuade *Monsieur le Prince* to make peace. To take away Nemours from his intriguing mistress, to attach him entirely to herself, and, in consequence, to the irreconcilable section of their party, was to serve Condé's interests, such as his sister understood them; and, to effect this, Madame de Longueville was prepared to go to any lengths short of actual infidelity to the man who still possessed her whole heart and mind.

This is undoubtedly the true explanation of her conduct; but La Rochefoucauld, even if he ever gave her an opportunity of tendering it, which is very improbable, absolutely refused to regard it in that light. If we are to believe the chronicler we have just cited, the duke had for some time past desired to terminate a connection which he had entered into from purely selfish motives, and of which he was beginning to grow weary.† "When we are tired of loving," he says, in one of his *Maximes*, "we are very pleased if a person becomes unfaithful, to free us from our infidelity." At the same time, if his love—and it is difficult to believe that he could have been the object of such a woman's ardent devotion for nearly four years without conceiving for her in return a more or less sincere affection—had grown cold, his vanity was deeply wounded by the rumours which reached him, the more so that he had recently permitted himself to be drawn by her into

* Duchesse de Nemours, *Mémoires*.

† "La Rochefoucauld, for some considerable time desirous of leaving her, seized this occasion with joy."—Madame de Nemours, *Mémoires*.

a course of action which his judgment condemned. For does he not observe in another *Maxime:* "Jealousy is always born with love; it does not always die with it"?

If any explanation were offered by Madame de Longueville, which, as we have said, is very improbable, it was without effect; and the duke separated from his mistress with a haste which seems to confirm the assertion of Madame de Nemours that "he had for some considerable time been desirous of leaving her." But he went much further than this. "From her lover," writes Madame de Motteville, "he became her enemy, and allowed himself to be carried away beyond what a Christian owes to his God, and a man of honour to his lady." Not only did he break with her with as much publicity as it was possible to give to such an event; not only did he endeavour to turn against her the brother who, next to himself, was the object of her deepest affection, accusing her directly or indirectly of having betrayed Condé's interests for those of Nemours, and insinuating, as he himself confesses, that "if a similar fancy took her for another, she was capable of going to the same extremes, if he desired it"* (a charge even more absurd than it was odious, since her true motive of desiring to subjugate Nemours was undoubtedly to secure his adhesion to the policy which she sincerely, though wrongly, conceived to be the wisest for her brother to adopt); but, after the lapse of eleven years, when Madame de Longueville had long been endeavouring to atone for her past errors by a life of retirement and penitence, the rancour of his wounded vanity being still unappeased, he chose to recall and to perpetuate the half-forgotten story of her frailty in his *Mémoires*, and, what is worse, to distort her conduct grossly and malignantly. But to this we shall have occasion to refer in its proper place.

The effect upon Madame de Longueville of the desertion of the man whom she had loved with such unwavering devotion for nearly four years, for whom she had sacrificed her reputation, the esteem of her husband and of some of her most valued friends, and, above all, the approval of her conscience which, to one of her deep religious convictions meant so much, may easily be conceived. Cruelly wounded in her affections and her pride, she was from that moment

* La Rochefoucauld, *Mémoires* (edit. 1662).

a changed woman. The change was gradual, it is true, for the feverish excitement of the next eighteen months, and the important part she was called upon to play in the events which were passing around her, left her scant time for reflection. But, when the war was over, her party utterly worsted, and her beloved brother an exile in the service of the enemies of France, and she had leisure to contemplate all the disastrous consequences of this fatal infatuation, we shall see her turn, a weary and disillusioned woman, to the ideals of her girlhood, and seek to redeem the past by five-and-twenty years of sincere and heartfelt penitence.

Condé had been received at Bordeaux with transports of joy. The enthusiasm with which the Bordelais had espoused his cause in the previous year was hardly yet extinguished, and it revived with redoubled force when, as Governor of Guienne, he came to them to demand an asylum for himself and his family. His glory and his misfortunes invested him with a halo of romance, which made an irresistible appeal to the emotional Southern temperament ; and on all sides he found nothing but expressions of sympathy and assurances of devotion. The more adventurous spirits among the citizens hastened to enrol themselves under his banner ; the Parlement addressed to the King a long remonstrance on the wrong which the Crown had committed in persecuting a Prince of the Blood who had rendered such signal services to the State, and despatched this remonstrance to all the Parlements of the kingdom, inviting them to unite with it in so good a cause ; the First President, Du Bernet, who was known to be attached to the Court, was driven away, and his place taken by the Président d'Affis, a devoted adherent of Condé ; while some members of the Parlement actually went so far as to offer to proclaim the prince Duke of Guienne, a proposition, however, which was curtly declined.

Condé had long since decided upon his plan of campaign if he found himself obliged to have recourse to arms. The war was to be carried on in two distinct theatres : in the South, between the Loire and the Pyrenees, where he himself would take supreme command ; and on the North-Eastern frontier, where he intended that Turenne should operate, at the head of the regiments of the House of

Condé, which were concentrated at Stenai. He calculated that the numerical superiority of the royal forces would be more than counteracted by the fact that the Court had not a single general of the first rank, with the exception of Harcourt, to oppose to two of the greatest captains of the age, and that, while one held the bulk of the enemy's troops in check, the other would be left free to strike some decisive blow.

The success of this scheme, however, depended entirely on the co-operation of Turenne, for to replace him was impossible; and it is almost certain that Condé would never have taken up arms, and that Madame de Longueville would never have counselled such a step, had they not both felt confident of the marshal's support. Scarcely had Condé quitted Chantilly on his journey to the South, than he despatched Gourville to make all the necessary arrangements with Turenne, or, in case of his absence, with the Duc de Bouillon, so that he might be prepared to take the field immediately hostilities began. It was the duke whom Gourville saw, when, to his astonishment and mortification, that nobleman informed him that he and his brother had pledged themselves to the other side; that they were willing and anxious to do everything in their power to facilitate a reconciliation between *Monsieur le Prince* and the Court, but that, if he insisted on declaring war, they could not follow him. "Those MM. de Bouillon," wrote the Princess Palatine to her sister the Queen of Poland, "wished to see, if in giving their protection to the Court, they would recover their principality [of Sedan]. In the event of their not being satisfied, they will throw themselves into the party of *Monsieur le Prince*."* The Palatine, usually so astute and far-sighted, was, on this occasion, mistaken. Both Turenne and Bouillon were, as has been mentioned, extremely dissatisfied with Condé, who, they considered, had neglected their interests; they were tired of rebellion, and very far from inclined to engage in a fresh one, of which the issue, even with their assistance, was extremely doubtful, and which seemed to have no other object than the aggrandizement of *Monsieur le Prince* and his family. They had therefore definitely decided to accept the offer of Mazarin, which included, for Bouillon, an immense indemnity for the loss of Sedan,

* Letter of October 1, 1651, published by the Duc d'Aumale.

and, for his brother, the command of the royal forces; and they only awaited the expected return of the Cardinal to declare themselves openly.

Gourville's report was a terrible blow to Condé, who could no longer disguise from himself that his position was a most critical one. He had received intelligence that a strong force was being organised to march against him, under the command of the Comte d'Harcourt, and to oppose it he had neither troops nor money wherewith to raise them, for the undisciplined rabble of Bordeaux was likely to prove more of an encumbrance than a support. Never had he found himself in a more difficult situation; but never did he display greater energy or capacity.

He seized at once upon the money in the Government offices at Bordeaux, and, to assure himself further pecuniary resources without exciting discontent, he diminished the taxation of the province, at the same time, directing that all contributions were to be paid to his agents. With the funds thus obtained, he despatched emissaries into all the country round to raise soldiers and concentrate them at the various points at which he considered they might be employed to the best advantage. He negotiated a close alliance with the Prince de Tarente, son and heir of the Duc de la Trémoille, and the Comte du Daugnon, Governor of Aunis and Saintonge, and other great nobles of the South-West. He sent directions to the Comte de Tavannes to march to his assistance with the troops which he had under his command at Stenai, and despatched the Duc de Nemours to Flanders, to obtain a Spanish contingent wherewith to reinforce them. Finally, on November 6, through the agency of Lenet, he concluded a treaty with Spain,* in virtue of which a Spanish flotilla, under

* By this treaty, which was signed by Condé, Conti, Madame de Longueville, La Rochefoucauld, Nemours, and, subsequently, by the Prince de Tarente, Philip IV. agreed: (1) To place at the disposal of *Monsieur le Prince*, on the Flemish frontier, a force of 3,000 cavalry and 2,000 infantry, with artillery; (2) To maintain a naval force of thirty vessels, carrying 4,000 men, on the Gironde. Neither party was to lay down their arms until "a just, equitable, honest, and durable peace" had been made between France and Spain, and satisfaction had been given to the Prince de Condé and his associates. "This last condition," remarks the Duc d'Aumale, "was the robe of Nessus from which Condé will in vain endeavour to free himself, the stone of stumbling against which all attempts at a reconciliation, all movements of repentance, all attempts which have for their end to reconcile *Monsieur le Prince* with his country, his King, and his duty, will be broken." Nevertheless, it secured for him eventually better terms than he might otherwise have succeeded in obtaining, since in 1660, Philip IV. and his Ministers very honourably refused to accept the terms offered them by Mazarin, unless their ally were restored to all his former offices and dignities.

the Baron de Watteville, entered the Gironde. About the same time, the Comte de Marsin arrived from Catalonia, with a contingent of a thousand infantry and three hundred horse, whom he had contrived to seduce from their allegiance; whilst Condé was also joined by the celebrated German soldier of fortune, Balthazar, who had formerly served under him in Flanders, and whose services had lately been refused by the Court.

In spite of the weakness of his forces, Condé now resolved to take the offensive. Accordingly, having delivered the town of Bourg on the Dordogne to the Spaniards, in order to protect Bordeaux and hold in check the Duc de Saint-Simon, who commanded for the King at Blaye, and having placed a garrison at Libourne, under the command of the Comte de Maure, he quitted Bordeaux, and in a fortnight had overrun Guienne, Périgord, Angoumois, and Saintonge. His success, however, was of very brief duration, for the Comte du Daugnon, governor of La Rochelle, and Vice-Admiral of France, upon whose co-operation he had counted, failed him, and the approach of Harcourt with an army much superior to his own obliged him to fall back to the Garonne. By the end of the year, hard pressed on all sides, he was only able to move between that river and the Dordogne, and, but for the excessive prudence with which his name inspired the royalist general, his scanty forces must have been crushed entirely. Such was the position of affairs when an event occurred which reanimated the hopes of the prince and appeared to give new strength to his party.

Mazarin, alarmed at the growing influence of Châteauneuf with the Queen, had begun to think of profiting by the dissensions of his enemies. He had received, on November 24, a letter from Louis XIV., authorising him "to come to the assistance of his King," and he determined to take advantage of his Majesty's invitation. Accordingly, he quitted Brühl, and on December 24, arrived at Sedan, at the head of an army of 6,000 German mercenaries, who wore the green scarf of his House. He was received with open arms by the governor of that town, his faithful adherent Fabert, and, after a brief stay, advanced into Champagne, where he was joined by Hocquincourt, at the head of a royal army. His progress was slow but uninterrupted, and, on January 16,

1652, he crossed the Loire at Gien and directed his course towards Poitiers, where he arrived on January 30. Louis XIV. and all the Court came out to meet him, and he entered the town, riding in triumph in his Majesty's coach, to be received by Anne of Austria with a joy that she was at no pains to conceal. Two days later, Turenne, whom the Cardinal had now completely won over, arrived at Poitiers, to offer his sword definitely to the King.

Mazarin's bold action—a most politic one, when viewed in the light of his own interests—revived the expiring cause of Condé. The Parlement, which, on December 4, in spite of the opposition of Orléans, had issued a decree proclaiming *Monsieur le Prince*, Madame de Longueville, Conti, Nemours, and La Rochefoucauld "attainted and convicted of high treason and *lèse-majesté*," now voted that this sentence should be suspended, and renewed their old declarations against Mazarin. Every fresh report of the Cardinal's advance wrought the magistrates to increased fury; and, on December 29, they passed "a decree which would not have been unworthy of the Revolutionary Tribunal."* By this decree, a reward of 150,000 livres was offered to whoever should deliver up the Cardinal, alive or dead, the money to be furnished by the sale of the magnificent library which Mazarin had collected with so much labour and expense, for the use of the scholars of his own day and of all time. Condé seized the opportunity to write to the Parlement, explaining that his real motive in taking up arms was to oppose the expected return of Mazarin, and offering his alliance. But that body, whose hatred of the Cardinal was all that was left of its old spirit, had not the courage to discharge anything more deadly than declarations, and, indeed, throughout the rest of the war pursued a vacillating policy, which rendered it equally odious to both parties.

However, the reappearance of Mazarin secured Condé the assistance of more serviceable allies than an assembly whose discredit was every day increasing. *Monsieur*, with whom the prince had been for some time past negotiating, believing that he had been the dupe of the Queen, concluded an alliance with him; and after the retirement of Châteauneuf, whom Mazarin speedily contrived to get rid of, Beaufort and most of the Frondeurs

* Mr. J. B. Perkins, "France under Mazarin."

also declared for Condé. Madame de Chevreuse and a few of her particular friends remained faithful to the Queen. Retz played fast and loose with both sides, through fear of forfeiting his cardinal's hat; and informed the Queen that he would make no terms with Condé, if his nomination were not revoked, but would don the prince's colours the very next day, if she even threatened its revocation.*

During the early months of 1652, the war in Guienne continued with no marked success on either side. At the end of February, Condé defeated the troops of the Marquis de Saint-Luc, Governor of Montauban, near Agen, and then laid siege to Miradoux, a little town of the Lower Armagnac, into which the routed Royalists had thrown themselves. But the place offered a vigorous resistance, and gave Harcourt time to come to its assistance, upon which *Monsieur le Prince* raised the siege and fell back to Agen.

On the Loire, the Frondeurs had two armies: one under the leadership of Beaufort, who commanded the troops of *Monsieur;* the other under that of Nemours, composed of the troops of Condé which he had brought from the North. The jealousy between the two generals, which was to culminate in so tragic a manner four months later, lost Angers, where the Duc de Rohan-Chabot had raised the standard of revolt, to the prince's party; and would have lost Orléans as well, but for the intrepidity of *Mademoiselle*, who succeeded in gaining admission to the city, through a hole which she caused to be made in the wall, and induced the citizens to close their gates against the royal troops. The new Joan of Arc, however, was unable to prevent the army of the Fronde from being defeated by Turenne, at Jargeau: a disaster which so increased the ill-feeling between Nemours and Beaufort, that their councils of war threatened to degenerate into pugilistic contests, and, on one occasion, not even their

* Retz, though anxious to prevent the return of Mazarin to power, was still very hostile to Condé, who, in the previous October, had sent Gourville and some of his more reckless followers secretly to Paris, with orders to kidnap him and carry him off to Damvilliers. The conspirators, aware that the coadjutor was in the habit of paying nightly visits to his mistress at the Hotel de Chevreuse, and remaining with her until a very late hour, lay in wait one evening to seize him as he left the house, but he chanced to go home by an unaccustomed way. They had no opportunity of repeating the attempt, as on the morrow the plot was discovered.

respect for *Mademoiselle* prevented them from coming to blows.*

The ineptitude of the two dukes called imperatively for Condé's presence on the Loire. The scanty forces under his command in Guienne rendered it impossible for him to achieve anything of importance in that province, and obliged him to act almost entirely on the defensive. On the other hand, the united armies of Beaufort and Nemours were superior in numbers to the troops opposed to them, and were composed, for the most part, of veteran soldiers. Under his own leadership, great results might be expected, and the war might assume an entirely different complexion.

Before, however, taking so important a step, and embarking upon a journey which was bound to be attended with grave danger, he took counsel with his principal partisans. The majority of them were undecided; for, though they recognised the necessity of superseding Nemours aud Beaufort, who were obviously no match for Turenne, or even for Hocquincourt, by a competent leader, the risk of the prince falling into the hands of the enemy, during a journey of one hundred and fifty leagues through a country almost entirely held by the royal troops, appeared to them too great to justify the attempt. The advice of Madame de Longueville, however, carried the day. Since that fatal hour when she had contributed so largely to force her brother into civil war, she had urged him unceasingly never to lay down his arms until victory had crowned his efforts; and she now declared, without a moment's hesitation, that, whatever the personal risk involved, it was his manifest duty to adopt the only course which could save their cause from disaster.

Her advice accorded with the prince's own inclinations, and he at once determined to cross Harcourt's lines, gain the Loire, and take command of the forces at present so terribly handicapped by the jealousy and incapacity of their leaders. Then, having created order out of chaos, and restored the courage of his troops and of his party

* "The Duc de Nemours was in so great a rage that he knew not what he said. He began to swear, and declared that *Monsieur le Prince* was deceived, and he knew who it was had deceived him. M. de Beaufort asked him: 'Who is it?' He answered: 'It is you!' Upon that, they struck each other. . . . They laid their hands on their swords; people threw themselves between them, in order to separate them. There was a terrible commotion."—Mlle. de Montpensier, *Mémoires*.

generally by some signal success, it was his intention to proceed to Paris and endeavour to induce the Parlement and the citizens to declare in his favour.

Before leaving Guienne, however, it was necessary to provide for the government and defence of that part of the province which still remained in his hands, and particularly of Bordeaux. He therefore nominated the Prince de Conti his lieutenant-general, believing that his rank would add lustre to his authority, dominate all rivalries, and secure a more ready obedience. But, being well aware of the vanity and incapacity of that prince, which had already cost him so dear in Berry—although Conti had somewhat rehabilitated himself of late in his brother's eyes by his government of Agen, and by the courage he had displayed in more than one skirmish—he directed him to take no step of any importance, except on the advice of a council, which was to be composed of the Princesse de Condé, Madame de Longueville, Lenet, the Comte de Marsin, and the Président Viole. Such a government, he calculated, could not fail to make an excellent impression, and ought, with the assistance promised by Spain, to experience no difficulty in retaining its hold on Bordeaux and the Gironde for at least a year, and give him time to strike some decisive blow. He was assured of the devotion of his wife, and the immense popularity which she enjoyed among the Bordelais was an important factor in the situation; Viole had already acquired considerable influence over the Parlement of Bordeaux; Madame de Longueville, at Stenai, had displayed courage and intelligence of the highest order, and the ascendency which she had always exercised over the mind of her younger brother would, he hoped, prevent the latter from taking any measures contrary to the wishes of his advisers; Lenet was a skilful diplomatist, who could be trusted to conduct the most complicated negotiations with ability and success; while Marsin was a brave and experienced general. It was in the hands of the last three that all real power was vested.

CHAPTER XXII

THE TRIUMPH OF MAZARIN

THIS important matter satisfactorily arranged, at noon on Palm Sunday, May 24, 1652, Condé, accompanied by La Rochefoucauld, his eldest son the young Prince de Marsillac, then aged fifteen, Gourville, the Marquis de Lévis, the Comtes de Guitaut and de Chavagnac, Bercenay, captain of La Rochefoucauld's guards, and a *valet de chambre* of the prince, named Rochefort, quitted Agen and set out on his perilous journey.

Gourville has left, in his *Mémoires*, a graphic account of that famous ride, which reads like a page from the most extravagant of romances of adventure. Dressed like ordinary soldiers, and affecting their rough speech and manners, in order to sustain the part, Condé and his companions journeyed day and night; almost always on the same horses; never stopping more than a couple of hours in the same place, either for food or rest; avoiding towns, high roads, and bridges, and travelling by bridle-paths, through woods, and across fields; fording swift rivers, traversing dangerous mountain-paths. Sometimes, their identity was so little suspected that, on one occasion, at a village inn, the innkeeper requested the prince to saddle a horse, and, on another, while lodging at the château of a gentleman of Périgord, their host, anxious to show his acquaintance with Court gossip, began jesting with considerable freedom about the amours of La Rochefoucauld and Madame de Longueville. At other times, they were within an ace of being discovered and taken prisoners. Their horses became so exhausted that they could hardly carry them, and the riders themselves were in little better case. La Rochefoucauld, tortured by gout, rode with one of his legs swathed in flannel; the young Prince de Marsillac could with difficulty keep his saddle. Condé alone seemed proof against every hardship, sleeping and waking at will, and preserving that serenity and good-humour which he never failed to display in the midst of fatigue and danger.

On the Saturday evening, the little party reached La Charité, whence Condé despatched Gourville to Paris, to inform *Monsieur* that he intended to proceed to the capital after having visited the army. As he was ignorant where it lay, he decided to gain the château of Madame de Châtillon, at Châtillon-sur-Loing, where he might learn news of it, and take some much-needed repose after the fatigues of the journey. But the Court, which was at Gien, had got wind of his movements; a troop of cavalry was despatched in pursuit of him, with orders to take him, alive or dead, and it was only by a miracle that he contrived to escape them and reach Châtillon in safety. Here he was informed that the army of the Frondeurs was quartered near Lorris, eight leagues distant, and hastening on—for his pursuers were close at his heels—he fell in with its advanced posts on April 1.

Nemours and Beaufort inspired so little apprehension among the Royalists, that they had temporarily divided their forces, for the purpose of obtaining better quarters and forage. Their Majesties and Mazarin, with some of the Household troops, were at Gien, not far from Turenne, who had his quarters at Briare; while Hocquincourt, with another division of the army, was encamped at Bléneau, on the Loing, some five leagues away. Condé, who had at once assumed command of the army of the Fronde, resolved to attack each of the marshals in turn, and overwhelm them by superior numbers; and, on the night of April 6–7, he fell suddenly upon Hocquincourt, and completely routed him. Turenne, hastening with some infantry battalions to the assistance of his colleagues, under the impression that he had been attacked by Nemours, perceived, by the light of the burning villages, the skilful disposition of the enemy's forces, and recognised that he had a very different antagonist with whom to deal. "Ah!" he exclaimed, "*Monsieur le Prince* has come." He fell back until he was joined by the rest of his division, and took up a very strong position on a height, protected, on his left, by a dense wood, the road through which was completely commanded by his artillery, and, on his right, by marshes. Here a sharp encounter took place; but the nature of the ground prevented Condé from utilizing to advantage his great superiority in cavalry; while Turenne's artillery, which was both numerous and well served, did great execution. At

length, Hocquincourt, having rallied some of his routed troops, joined the marshal, and the Duc de Bouillon arrived with reinforcements from Gien ; upon which Condé withdrew towards Châtillon, while Turenne retired to Gien, where he was welcomed with an enthusiasm corresponding to the terror which the first news of the disaster to Hocquincourt had occasioned the Court.

In the meanwhile, Gourville had returned from Paris, bringing letters from the Duc de Rohan-Chabot and others of their party in the capital, strongly urging Condé to proceed thither as speedily as possible. They represented that the close alliance between Orléans and himself was essential to the success of the Fronde, but that Retz, who had at last obtained his coveted hat, exercised such influence over the latter's mind that, unless Condé were present in person to counteract his machinations, they feared that he would end by detaching *Monsieur* altogether from their cause ; that the friends of Mazarin were every day becoming more bold ; that the Parlement, although so bitterly hostile to the Cardinal, still hesitated to join hands with the enemies of the Government ; that the better-class citizens were almost unanimous in demanding the return of the King and peace ; while the populace, in the absence of their idol Beaufort, were becoming positively indifferent. In short, they declared that, unless *Monsieur le Prince* appeared at once in Paris, the city would be lost to the Fronde—a disaster for which, in their opinion, no victories on the Loire could possibly atone.

Condé yielded to these representations, and, two days after the combat at Bléneau, set out for Paris, taking with him La Rochefoucauld, Nemours, and Beaufort. In leaving the army at this juncture, there can be no question that he committed a fatal error. Few men were less fitted than himself to deal with the caprices of a great city, to measure swords with consummate intriguers like Retz, or to calm the fears and soothe the susceptibilities of timid and vacillating princes like Orléans. On the other hand, he alone possessed the necessary authority to ensure discipline and cohesion among the different elements, French and foreign, which composed the army of the Frondeurs, or sufficient skill to cope with a commander like Turenne. The Comte de Tavannes, to whom he entrusted the command, had proved himself, on more

than one occasion, a brave and capable officer, when acting under Condé's orders, but he had few of the qualifications of a general-in-chief.

Condé reached Paris on April 11, and entered the city followed by some fifty coaches filled with his friends and retainers. He found, however, little to reassure him. The miserable war which his ambition had provoked had already begun to cause widespread distress among the poorer classes, who seemed, writes a correspondent of Mazarin, to be perishing before one's eyes; while the merchants complained bitterly that business was almost at a standstill. With the coming of *Monsieur le Prince*, who seemed to portend trouble wherever he appeared, the citizens saw war already at their gates; and some of them were heard to declare that they would rather have a score of foreign cardinals than a day of battle in the streets of Paris. Condé visited the Parlement, and asserted that he had no other desire than to serve it and to secure the execution of its decrees—that is to say, to secure the banishment of Mazarin from the kingdom. He met, however, with a very cold reception, and the Président Bailleul, who presided over the assembly in the absence of Mathieu Molé, who, as Keeper of the Seals, had followed the Court, expressed his grief at seeing a Prince of the Blood seated on the *fleurs-de-lys*, with his hands stained with the blood of loyal subjects of the King. The presidents of the other Courts remonstrated with Condé in no measured terms, and urged him to make his peace with the Court; and Le Féron, the Provost of the Merchants and the Maréchal de l'Hôpital, Governor of Paris, adopted the same tone It was evident that times had changed, and that all classes were weary of war and sighed for peace.

Nor could Condé succeed in persuading the irresolute Orléans to commit himself any further than he had already done, in spite of the efforts of the duchess and *Mademoiselle*, for *Monsieur* was jealous of the prince, and Retz took care to insinuate that the latter desired merely to use him for his own ends. Perceiving the difficulty of inducing the capital to declare in his favour, Condé inclined to the counsel of the majority of his friends, who now advised that an attempt should be made to come to terms with the Court, and "allowed himself to be drawn once more," says La Rochefoucauld, "into an abyss of

negotiations, of which one never saw the bottom, and which have always been the safety of Mazarin and the ruin of his enemies." La Rochefoucauld himself and the Duchesse de Châtillon took the chief part in urging Condé to this course; and the duke seems to have experienced a malicious pleasure in advocating a step which he knew to be directly opposed to the advice which Madame de Longueville had given her brother: never to lay down his arms except as a conqueror. "He told me," says Madame de Motteville, "that from jealousy and vengeance he did whatever the Duchesse de Châtillon wished."*

The lady in question detested Madame de Longueville, in whom she had long recognised the chief obstacle to the influence which she desired to exercise over the mind of Condé, from which she expected to derive very considerable advantages; and her animosity had naturally not been diminished by the reports which had reached her of the devotion shown by her *amant de cœur*, the Duc de Nemours, to the princess during the journey from Montrond to Bordeaux. She now proposed to La Rochefoucauld and Nemours, who had once more fallen completely under her sway, an alliance, with the twofold object of discrediting Madame de Longueville in her brother's eyes, and of inducing the prince to enter into negotiations with the Court. So skilfully did they engineer "*cette machine*," as La Rochefoucauld calls this shameful intrigue against the woman for whom he had once professed such intense devotion, that Condé, blinded by his passion for Madame de Châtillon, was persuaded to believe his sister unworthy of the confidence he had reposed in her; and, this once accomplished, the rest of their task was easy.

Negotiations were accordingly opened with the Court; and Gourville carried to Saint-Germain a sort of ultimatum on behalf of *Monsieur le Prince*. Hampered as he was by his engagements with the Spaniards, which forbade him to lay down his arms until "a just, equitable, honest, and durable peace" had been concluded between them and France, he began by demanding that he and the Duc d'Orléans should be nominated as plenipotentiaries to arrange with Spain the terms of peace, which, as his sympathetic biographer, the Duc d'Aumale, is fain to confess, was certainly a somewhat singular proposition to

* *Mémoires.*

come from a rebel.* *Monsieur* was to be satisfied in his demands, and his friends to be granted what he desired for them. Beyond the honour of working for the general peace, Condé asked nothing for himself; but he fully atoned for this apparent modesty by the exorbitant demands which he made on behalf of his adherents. Thus, he asked for Conti the government of Provence, which had been promised him in 1651, in exchange for that of Champagne and Brie; for Nemours, the government of Auvergne; the brevet of *maréchal de France* for Du Daugnon; high posts under government for Lenet and Viole; the restoration to the Duc de Rohan-Chabot of his government of Anjou; the government of Bergerac for the Marquis de la Force; while La Rochefoucauld was not only to be restored to his government of Poitou, but he was to receive the sum of 120,000 livres, to enable him to treat for the governments of Saintonge or Angoumois, or any other, at his discretion. Finally, the services of Madame de Châtillon in the cause of peace and concord —although nothing is said about the matter in the official document—were to be recognised by a *gratification* of 100,000 écus. As for Madame de Longueville, who had made ruinous sacrifices for her brother's cause, and had even been compelled to part with her jewellery, so effectually had her enemies contrived to prejudice Condé's mind against her, that her name is not even mentioned, either in the instructions given to Gourville or in any other document—an omission upon which she is to be felicitated, since it places her disinterestedness above suspicion.

In regard to Mazarin, Condé's proposals were moderate, but somewhat vague; he was to retire from the kingdom; but there was to be a tacit understanding that this retirement should be only temporary, and *Monsieur le Prince* would defer signing the peace until after his return.

As may well be supposed, the Cardinal was in no hurry to give a definite answer to these propositions; and, while he pursued his usual temporizing policy, the Luxembourg intervened. Retz, who was well aware that a reconciliation between Condé and Mazarin would be the signal for his own ruin, since both were equally exasperated against him, persuaded Orléans that the negotiations begun by the prince threatened his own authority, and that it behoved him to take steps to avert such a danger, by

* *Histoire des Princes de Condé.*

offering Mazarin more advantageous terms. Gaston therefore sent the Duc de Damville secretly to the Queen, to beg her to come to no arrangement with Condé, since *Monsieur* himself desired to have the merit of restoring peace. Neither of these negotiations came to anything, and their only result was to breed distrust between Orléans and Condé.

Irritated by the failure of his negotiations with the Court, and foiled in his attempt to secure the support of the better classes in Paris which the Old Fronde had once possessed, Condé now determined to appeal to the populace, and by enlisting in his cause the lowest element in the capital, coerce the magistracy and the bourgeoisie into uniting with him. Money and promises, and that love of disorder which has made the rabble of Paris for centuries one of the most formidable forces in French politics, quickly did their work ; and there gathered round him, from the dregs of the people, a new Fronde, a mob of discharged soldiers, cut-throats, and vagabonds of every description, who stopped respectable citizens in the street and compelled them to join with them in reviling Mazarin, crowded round the Palais de Justice, demanding the union of the Parlement with the princes, and, on one occasion, even forced their way into the Grande Chambre, and compelled the terrified judges to fly before them.

In the meanwhile, matters had been going badly with the troops which Condé had left upon the Loire. On the morning of May 4, while they were quartered in and around Étampes, Turenne, who had made a rapid night-march from Saint-Germain, suddenly fell upon them, destroyed or captured part of the army, and held the rest closely blockaded in the town. However, the arrival in France, at the end of May, of that princely highwayman Charles IV. of Lorraine, who, in the previous January, had signed a treaty with Orléans and Condé, inspired the dispirited Frondeurs with fresh hope. The duke advanced, at the head of an army of some 10,000 mercenaries, murdering, pillaging, and burning, and leaving his troops encamped at Villeneuve-Saint-Georges, came himself to Paris, where, in spite of his unsavoury reputation, he became the hero of the day, and made love impartially to all the Amazons of the Fronde. Had he carried out his engagements, affairs might have assumed

an entirely different aspect; but his only desire was to fill his coffers, and he much preferred to treat with the Court, than to risk his army of bandits—his sole fortune—against a general like Turenne. Through the diplomacy of Madame de Chevreuse, a treaty was concluded, by which it was agreed that the Royalists should raise the siege of Étampes, to secure which. Charles IV. had the effrontery to declare to Condé, had been the sole object of his expedition, and that the duke should then withdraw his troops to Flanders. By June 10, his army was on the march to the frontier.

Condé, betrayed on all sides, at length comprehended the fatal error he had committed in leaving his army, to engage in intrigues which led to no result, and of having preferred the counsels of an avaricious mistress to those of a courageous and devoted sister. Weakened and disheartened as his forces were, he hoped that his presence might yet turn the fortune of the war, and, at the end of June, he left Paris to resume the command. It was too late. The sword, sickness, and, above all, desertion had reduced his forces to less than 6,000 men, with which to oppose two armies each superior in numbers to his own —namely, the one commanded by Turenne, and another under La Ferté-Senneterre, composed of troops recently brought from the Eastern frontier. The Frondeurs lay at Saint-Cloud, where the bridge across the Seine ensured their communications with the capital; the two marshals having united their forces, advanced to Saint-Denis, where the Court also established itself. Turenne threw a bridge of boats across the river at Épinay, and began making preparations to attack; and Condé, aware that it would be impossible to hold his position in the face of the superior numbers of the enemy, decided to pass the river, gain Charenton, and entrench himself on the tongue of land formed by the confluence of the Seine and the Marne. In the early morning of July 2, he began his march, and since, notwithstanding the terrorism exercised by the mob, the governor of Paris and the municipal authorities had remained firm in their refusal to allow his troops to pass through the city, he was compelled to make a circuit of the walls from the Porte Saint-Honoré to the Porte Saint-Antoine, in order to gain the Charenton road. But Turenne, who had received early information of his movements, was in close pursuit; and Condé, per-

ceiving the impossibility of reaching Charenton without giving battle, concentrated his forces around the Porte Saint-Antoine, and awaited the attack of the Royalists.

The position was well chosen. The open space before the gate was approached by three streets in the form of a fan, bordered by walls, gardens, houses, and convents, and, at several points, barricades, which had been erected by the inhabitants to protect them from the attacks of the Duke of Lorraine's marauders, were still standing. These Condé caused to be strengthened, besides fortifying several of the houses, which he filled with musketeers. The defence of the three streets he confided respectively to Nemours, Tavannes, and Vallon, who commanded the contingent of the Duc d'Orléans; while he himself, with La Rochefoucauld and a body of picked soldiers, remained in readiness to give his support at whatever point it was most needed. Turenne, who ever combined courage with discretion, though superior in numbers, wished to await the arrival of La Ferté-Senneterre and the heavy artillery, when his advantage would be overwhelming. But Louis XIV. and Mazarin, who had stationed themselves upon the heights of Charonne, whence they could perceive all that was passing, pressed him to attack at once, and he yielded to their persuasions.

The Royalists came on with the most reckless courage, and were met with equal resolution; the leaders on both sides performed prodigies of valour, and the slaughter among the officers was out of all proportion to the total number of the slain, though, as is usual in street fighting, this was very heavy. The Marquis de Saint-Mesgrin, who had for years cherished the most bitter hatred against Condé, as his successful rival in the affections of Mlle. du Vigean, had sworn to avenge his lost love or perish in the attempt, and fell dead almost at the prince's feet; Paul Mancini, Mazarin's nephew, a brave lad of sixteen, destined by the Cardinal to be the inheritor of his wealth and the husband of Mlle. de Chevreuse, received a mortal wound, to which he succumbed two days later; Nemours was twice wounded, and his armour almost hacked to pieces; Bercenay, one of the heroes of the famous ride from Agen to the Loire, was killed; and La Rochefoucauld was struck by a musket-ball, "which pierced his face above the eyes, almost carrying them out of his head." This

serious wound deprived him of his sight for some time, and abruptly terminated his career as a Frondeur.*

At length, towards noon—the fight had begun at seven—La Ferté-Senneterre came up, and the defenders, now completely outnumbered, were slowly driven back upon the Porte Saint-Antoine. The wicket was opened occasionally, to allow the wounded to be carried into the town, but the great gate itself remained obstinately shut. Condé sent messenger after messenger to Orléans, imploring him to give orders for it to be opened; but *Monsieur*, "obsessed by the Cardinal de Retz, who desired to rid himself of the Prince de Condé and to leave him to perish,"† was deaf to all appeals. It seemed as if the hapless Frondeurs, hemmed in between the city walls and their victorious foes, would be annihilated, when suddenly the gate was seen to open, while almost simultaneously the cannon of the Bastille opened fire on the royal troops. Their salvation was the work of *Mademoiselle*, who, by dint of tears and supplications, had wrested an order from her irresolute father to permit the troops of Condé to enter the city, and for the artillery of the fortress to cover their retreat.‡

The broken remnant of Condé's forces was saved, and Paris had apparently declared for the Fronde; but the vast majority of the Parlement and of the bourgeoisie regarded with indignation and alarm the admission of a rebel army into the capital. On July 4, the city officers, many members of the Parlement, several of the clergy, and delegates from the various parishes assembled, to the number of over three hundred, at the Hôtel de Ville,

* Gourville relates that, as a souvenir of this misfortune, he caused a portrait of Madame de Longueville to be engraved, beneath which might be read the following verses, parodied from the *Alcyonée* of Du Ryer:

Faisant la guerre au roi, j'ai perdu les deux yeux;
Mais pour un tel objet, je l'aurais faite aux Dieux.

But, according to his biographer, M. Bourdeau, he subsequently composed a new variation:

Pour ce cœur inconstant, qu'enfin je connais mieux,
J'ai fait la guerre au roi: j'en ai perdu les yeux.

† Motteville.

‡ The order had, of course, to be countersigned by the Maréchal de l'Hôpital, as Governor of Paris, who had little sympathy with the Fronde; but if, as Conrart asserts, *Mademoiselle* threatened to tear the marshal's beard out by the roots, unless he complied with her demand, we can scarcely wonder that he lacked the courage to refuse.

to deliberate on what measures should be adopted for the safety of the city. Orléans and Condé hoped that the gathering would declare for a union of Paris with them in their war against the King; and a ferocious mob, among which are said to have been many of Condé's soldiers disguised as artisans, gathered in the Place de Grève, to terrorize the assembly into submission. When it became known that the only resolution passed was one asking the King to grant peace to his subjects and to return to Paris, the rabble attacked the Hôtel de Ville, murdered several of the delegates, and set the building on fire. Terrified messages for help were sent to the princes, but they declined to interfere;* and it was left to Beaufort and *Mademoiselle* to disperse the mob, and save the Hôtel de Ville and its inmates from the destruction of the flames.

This atrocious episode, worthy of the worst days of the League, was the death-blow of the Fronde. Condé had indeed succeeded in terrifying the city into submission, but he had done so at the expense of his fame and of his cause. All except the refuse of the people were filled with horror and loathing for a party which sought to compass its ends by such means. With only the skeleton of an army, without moral authority, and utterly discredited by its alliance with the rabble of the capital and the enemies of France, its days were numbered. The city officials and many members of the Parlement fled from Paris and proceeded to Pontoise, whither the Court had removed; and the strange spectacle was presented of two Parlements—one in Paris, the other at Pontoise—each claiming to be the legal body, and annulling the other's decrees. The section which had remained in the capital passed a resolution declaring the King "the prisoner of the Cardinal Mazarin," and appointed Orléans Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, so long as that Minister remained in France. A Council of State was appointed, consisting of Condé, Beaufort, Nemours, and other nobles, with

* Conrart, the Venetian Ambassador Morosini, and the registers of the Hôtel de Ville all accuse the princes of inciting the massacre; and the last authority states that, as they left the Hôtel de Ville, they were seen distributing money among the mob. The Duc d'Aumale defends Condé from this charge, though his arguments are not particularly convincing, and throws the blame on the gentlemen in attendance on Orléans, one of whom is said to have shouted to the mob: "Those gentlemen assembled in there refuse to do anything: it is for the people to advise them."

various members of the Parlement and representatives of the city, to act as Orléans's advisers and regulate public affairs; but nowhere, except in Paris, was its authority recognised.

The formation of this council led to various disputes over precedence, and a fresh quarrel between Nemours and Beaufort, long bitterly antagonistic to one another. "M. de Nemours, who could not conceal the annoyance which the pretensions of M. de Beaufort occasioned him, raged against him and spoke of him in the most extravagant terms imaginable."* The latter expressed his opinion of his brother-in-law with equal freedom, and ultimately Nemours sent him a challenge to a duel. They met, on July 30, in a field near the Marché des Chevaux; each was accompanied by four friends. Before the fight began, Beaufort remonstrated against the scandal of a duel between relatives, but the other was implacable. As Nemours had not yet recovered from the wounds he had received in the engagement of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, it had been agreed that, while their seconds fought, according to the usual practice, with swords, the principals should use pistols. Nemours fired first, and missed, though his ball passed through his adversary's hair. Then, ignoring in his fury the arrangement that had been made, he laid his hand upon his sword and advanced towards Beaufort. The latter, who seems to have intended to spare his brother-in-law, cried out to him to desist; but Nemours, vowing that he would have his life, drew his sword and wounded his opponent in the hand. Beaufort then discharged his pistol, and Nemours fell dead, shot through the heart. He was only twenty-eight years of age. Of the eight seconds who took part in this deplorable affair, two were killed and one severely wounded.†

The death of Nemours and the retirement of La Rochefoucauld to Damvilliers, in Lorraine, to seek rest at the house of his brother-in-law, the Marquis de Sillery, removed from Condé's side the only members of his party who wished for peace; and, though an honourable accommodation with the Court might still have been possible, he preferred to rely on the promise of Spanish

* Marigny to Lenet, July 12, 1652.

† Letter of the Abbé Viole to Lenet, July 31, 1652.

aid, and to continue the war. Every day, however, the Fronde was becoming more discredited and the desire for peace stronger; and the skilful self-effacement of Mazarin, who, on August 19, left Pontoise and retired into a second and voluntary exile at Bouillon, and afterwards at Sedan, removed the only pretext for continuing the war. Condé and Orléans now attempted to negotiate, but were informed that no proposal from them would be considered until they had laid down their arms, disbanded their troops, and renounced their alliance with Spain.

On August 26, the King, acting on the advice of Mazarin, proclaimed a general amnesty for all who had taken part in the events of the past eighteen months, and were willing to make their submission to the Crown. By the same decree, all edicts of the Parlement passed since February 1, 1651, which had reference to these internal troubles were annulled, including, of course, the various declarations against Mazarin. This judicious measure was the signal for the rout of the Fronde, and all classes united in their demand for the end of this miserable war and the return of the King to Paris.

In the first days of September, Spain having concluded an alliance with Charles IV. of Lorraine, an army of 12,000 men, composed partly of Spaniards and partly of the duke's own troops, advanced from Flanders and penetrated as far as the environs of Paris. If Condé had been able to take the field in person, it is possible that Turenne's army, which, at the moment, was much inferior in numbers to that of the invaders, might have been crushed. But he was suffering from a severe attack of fever; and, in his absence, the Duke of Lorraine, who never wished to expose his troops to the risk of a battle, confined his efforts to mercilessly ravaging the country, thus still further alienating public opinion from the Fronde.

At length, on October 13, Condé, disdaining to accept the amnesty, but finding his position in the capital no longer tenable, left Paris with the few troops which still remained faithful to him, joined the army of Lorraine, and departed for the Flemish frontier, where for seven years he commanded Spanish troops against his countrymen.

The way was now cleared for the return of the Court to Paris; and, on October 21, Louis XIV. and Anne of

Austria, with an imposing *cortège*, made their entry into the city, amid general rejoicings. It was soon seen that the King was resolved to reign with authority. On October 24—the very anniversary of the day on which it had wrung the Declaration of Saint-Germain from the Queen—the humbled Parlement registered a decree forbidding it hereafter to assume any control over general affairs of State, or to meddle with the direction of the public finances. Orléans was ordered to leave the city at once, under pain of arrest, and retired to Limours and thence to Blois, his career of turbulence, cowardice, and treachery ended for good and all. *Mademoiselle*, Beaufort, Rohan-Chabot, Broussel, and nine members of the Parlement were likewise exiled. Retz kept out of the way for two months, when, believing himself protected by his dignity of cardinal and by the great influence he exercised over the people, he was indiscreet enough to visit the Louvre, where he was immediately arrested and shut up at Vincennes.

All obstacles to Mazarin's re-establishment were now removed, and on February 3, 1653, after taking part with Turenne, at the head of a body of troops raised at his own expense, in the siege of Bar-le-Duc and other places in Champagne, he returned to Paris. His return was a veritable triumph. Louis XIV., accompanied by his younger brother, the Duc d'Anjou, and the greatest nobles of the Court, met him at Bourget, insisted on his entering the royal coach, and brought him to the Louvre, where Anne of Austria was awaiting him. At night, bonfires lighted up the principal streets, and the same people who had so lately execrated his name now greeted it with shouts of applause. From that day until the hour of his death, he was to remain the absolute ruler of France.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE FRONDE AT BORDEAUX

THE Fronde in Paris had perished miserably, but the Frondeurs of Bordeaux were still in arms. It will be remembered that when, at the end of March, 1652, Condé had set out on his adventurous ride to the

Loire, he had left at Bordeaux his brother, the Prince de Conti, with the title of his lieutenant-general, assisted by a council composed of *Madame la Princesse*, Madame de Longueville, Viole, Lenet, and the Comte de Marsin. Each member of this council had well-defined duties. *Madame la Princesse*, immensely popular with all classes at Bordeaux, was charged to keep alive that enthusiasm for the House of Condé, which she had so well known how to excite in 1651; Viole was to maintain the Parlement in its fidelity to their cause; Lenet was entrusted with the control of civil, financial, and diplomatic affairs; Marsin combined the functions of Minister of War and Commander-in-chief; while to Madame de Longueville fell the task of guiding her brother Conti, and preventing him from taking any important step contrary to the advice of his counsellors.

Had Condé's affairs prospered, this government would no doubt have proved capable of retaining its hold upon Bordeaux and the surrounding country, until such time as the prince was able to return and resume the direction of affairs; but, in the face of the adverse intelligence from Paris, and in the absence of any assistance from the leader of their party, the task proved beyond its powers.

Although Condé informs his brother, in one of his letters, that he has "left him in entire control of all things beyond the Loire," he had, of course, intended that he should act only on the advice of his council, and particularly of Madame de Longueville. But the Prince de Conti soon began to evince a decided inclination to take these official words in a literal sense, and showed that he was but little disposed to allow himself to be guided by his sister. That lady's influence over the young prince was, in fact, very far from what it had once been. For some four years after his sister's return from Münster, Conti had regarded her with a passionate affection almost amounting to idolatry, which he was at so little pains to conceal, that it appears to have afforded material for a good deal of ridicule, and not a little scandalous gossip. Madame de Longueville, on her side, though it is doubtful if she ever entertained for her younger brother any feeling which can compare with the deep affection she had felt from her girlhood for the elder, was not displeased at finding herself the object of an adoration which per-

mitted her to dispose of so important a personage as a Prince of the Blood; and until the spring of 1651 she governed him absolutely. Then, however, came the rupture of the marriage arranged between Conti and Mlle. de Chevreuse, an incident due, in a great measure, to Madame de Longueville's desire to retain her influence over the young prince. The latter yielded to the representations of his relatives; but he had done so with considerable reluctance, and did not fail to resent the part his sister had taken in this discreditable affair. From that moment, the chivalrous devotion he had so long professed for her began to cool, and her power over him gradually waned. Seeing himself, at Bordeaux, free and all-powerful for the first time in his life, his vanity, his taste for pleasures of a far from unobjectionable kind, and the flattery of those who always gather about a young prince and seek to profit by his inexperience—all urged him to shake off the tutelage of Madame de Longueville.

That princess, who was naturally indisposed to allow her brother to escape from her control at a moment when it was more than ever necessary that he should submit to her guidance, could not restrain her anger and mortification; and, instead of seeking to win him back by those means which she knew so well how to employ, reproached him bitterly with his ingratitude towards herself, and with his private life, which was certainly anything but calculated to gain the esteem of those whom he had been appointed to govern, and accused him of being the dupe of the flatterers and parasites by whom he was surrounded. Conti warmly resented his sister's strictures, and soon the rupture between them was complete.

The young prince did not support with less impatience the counsels of Lenet and Marsin, who maintained an active correspondence with their absent master, and were accustomed to express themselves with considerable freedom when they considered that his official representative was not acting in accordance with the instructions they had received. The result was constant quarrels in the Council, a lamentable lack of firmness and consistency in the direction of affairs, and a general weakening of the central authority, both in the city and the province.

Madame de Longueville was a sad and embittered woman in these days. On every side she saw her hopes disappointed, her ambitions thwarted. A year ago, she

had loved, and had imagined herself beloved; she had been the idol of a powerful party; the chosen confidante and counsellor of one brother; the guide, philosopher, and friend of the other; the admiration of all Paris; the terror of the Court. Now all was changed. The man to whom she had given her whole heart, and for whom she had made so many sacrifices, had harshly discarded her—nay, more—was doing his very utmost to misrepresent her motives and injure her reputation. Thanks to his malevolent insinuations, Condé no longer trusted her as he had formerly done, had disregarded her advice, and allowed his victorious sword to rust in its scabbard, while he plunged into a vortex of miserable intrigues, which could end only in disaster. Conti, hitherto so devoted, so docile, so ready to conform to her every wish, had shaken off the fetters which he had once deemed it a privilege to wear, and she saw him surrounded by a crowd of greedy sycophants and servile men of letters: Sarrasin,* Marigny, and Guilleragues, who flattered his vanity, pandered to his pleasures, and, to assure their own influence over his feeble and capricious mind, sought to widen the breach between him and his sister. Finally, the news from Paris grew every day more disquieting, and it was no longer possible to conceal from herself that, in drawing Condé into civil war, she had brought him to his ruin.

The princess's position in the council was a difficult and an embarrassing one. Not only did Conti refuse to be guided by her advice, but her relations with Lenet were also strained. Whereas Madame de Longueville had never for a moment wavered in her belief that the only road to success lay in a vigorous prosecution of the war, and that no negotiations ought to be opened until they were in a position to dictate their own terms to the Court, Lenet had always been in favour of compromise. In June, 1652, he persuaded Condé to recall Viole, who shared Madame de Longueville's views, and became a party to the conspiracy formed by La Rochefoucauld and Madame de Châtillon in order to destroy the princess's influence over her brother, and induce the latter to treat with

* Lenet tells us that it was Sarrasin who "arranged for him [Conti] an intrigue with the little Madame de Calvimont," a lady of the town, whose foolishness, according to Daniel de Cosnac, was as astonishing as her beauty. This affair lasted throughout the war in Guienne, and even a little beyond it.

Mazarin. Lenet was too skilful and too prudent to join openly with the conspirators ; but he secretly assisted them, informing them of all that was happening at Bordeaux, and, without openly attacking Madame de Longueville, he succeeded in arousing in his master's mind suspicions of his sister's loyalty and disinterestedness, which were not dissipated until they had worked irreparable mischief.

In the field, for a brief period, Fortune seemed to smile upon the Frondeurs of Guienne. Balthazar completely defeated a much superior force of Royalists, under the Marquis de Montausier, Governor of the Angoumois, at Montançais, and overran Périgord ; while Marsin, profiting by the departure of Harcourt—who, exasperated by the refusal of the Court to confer upon him the government of Brissac, suddenly threw up his command and left the royal forces in Guienne without a leader—relieved Villeneuve d'Agen and took several small towns, and might even have reduced Blaye, which would have enabled him to command the course of the Gironde, if the Spaniards at Bourg had not declined to co-operate with him, except on the condition that the fortress, when captured, should be placed in their hands.

To replace Harcourt in command of the royal forces in Guienne, Mazarin selected the young Duc de Candale. Candale was the eldest son of the Duc d'Épernon, whose arrogance and tyranny had largely contributed to the insurrection at Bordeaux in 1651 ; and the Cardinal's choice was probably influenced by the desire that he entertained of securing the young duke as a husband for one of his nieces. The appointment, however, was by no means so injudicious as Mazarin's enemies declared. Candale, who was one of the handsomest men of his time, with " an admirable figure, blue eyes, a well-made nose, very beautiful teeth, and golden-blond hair in the greatest profusion possible to imagine,"* was a very different personage from his father, kindly, courteous, and tactful ; and Mazarin rightly judged that these qualities would go far to regain the good-will of those whom Épernon's conduct had alienated, and, combined with his popularity with all ranks of the army, atone for his lack of military experience. Almost at the same time, he despatched the

* Bussy-Rabutin, *Histoire amoureuses des Gaules.*

Duc de Vendôme, with a fleet, to the Gironde, to intercept all assistance which Bordeaux might hope to receive from that direction; while, in the late autumn of 1653, the Comte d'Estrades, Maurice de Coligny's second in the memorable duel with the Duc de Guise, who had lately been compelled to surrender Dunkerque to the Spaniards after a brilliant defence, was sent to Agen, to assume the command of the government of that town and the surrounding country, and to co-operate with Candale. Thus ably seconded both by sea and land, and greatly superior in numbers to the enemy, Candale quickly recovered the places which Marsin had captured, and forced that general to fall back to the Garonne; and by the end of the year, the whole of the province had returned to its allegiance to the Crown, with the exception of the capital, Bourg, and a few towns of small importance.

In the meanwhile, Bordeaux had become a prey to disorder, fast degenerating into anarchy, in which the excesses which had marked the Fronde in Paris were to be repeated and exaggerated. On all sides discord and confusion reigned: in the Council, in the Parlement, in the Hôtel de Ville, among the bourgeoisie, and among the populace.

When Condé arrived in Bordeaux, in September, 1651, he had been received, as we have seen, with general enthusiasm. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to suppose that, in so warmly espousing his cause, all classes were animated by the same motives, or were prepared to go to the same lengths in his support. His adherents, in fact, were divided into two factions. The first, which subsequently received the name of the "Little Fronde," comprised the greater part of the Parlement, the *Jurats*,* and the wealthier citizens, hostile in general to the Court and to Mazarin, but desirous of keeping the insurrectionary movement within bounds, and looking with marked disapproval on the negotiations which the prince had opened with Spain. The second, which was called the "Great Fronde," and was recruited from the lower middle-class and the populace, desired to carry on the war *à l'outrance*, and was quite ready to ally itself with Spain, England, or half Europe, for that matter. This party regarded the

* The *Jurats* were six elected magistrates; three of whom retired from office at the end of each year.

princes less as chiefs to follow, than as valuable allies to be utilised for the furtherance of its own ends. Republican views, fostered by recent events in England, found much favour in its ranks, particularly among the more advanced section, called, from its favourite place of assembly—a little terrace bordered by elms in the environs of the town—the *Ormée*.

While Condé remained in Guienne, his authority dominated and controlled the rival parties, but after his departure their common antagonism was unrestrained, and the *Ormée* began to assume a more definite form. Imitating the League or anticipating the Jacobins, it formed itself into a regular society; it took for its arms an elm with a serpent coiled round it, and the devices: "*Estote prudentes sicut serpentes*," and "*Vox populi, vox Dei*;" it drew up a constitution, by which its members bound themselves to sacrifice life and property for the principles they had at heart; it appointed magistrates and generals, levied troops, and launched decrees against those whom it suspected of hostility to the popular cause. Finally, it had a special tribunal called the "*Chambre de l'Ormée*," which passed sentences which were without appeal and were executed immediately.

Although composed only of some five hundred members, the society could reckon in an emergency on the support of over twelve thousand men. It had no recognised chief, but its two most influential members were Villars, an advocate, and Duretête, a retired butcher, who represented two different types of revolutionaries. The ex-butcher was a fanatic, ignorant and violent, but sincere; the advocate, one of those fluent scoundrels who seek to turn revolutionary movements to their own profit, and who, while inciting their dupes to every kind of outrage, are ready to betray them without the slightest scruple.

La Rochefoucauld, among the charges which he brings against Madame de Longueville in his *Mémoires*, declares that she encouraged this terrible faction, which, in making Bordeaux a nightmare to all respectable citizens, ended by estranging them entirely from the cause of the princes, in order to strengthen her own position and enhance her personal importance. This accusation, however, will not bear inspection. La Rochefoucauld, having apparently insinuated as much to *Monsieur le Prince*, the latter wrote to Lenet, instructing him to ascertain if there were any

truth in this report. Lenet thereupon had an interview with the Prince de Conti and Madame de Longueville; and he relates that the latter shed tears at the mere suggestion of a suspicion that she could be acting contrary to her brother's interests.

As time went on, however, and the *Ormée* became practically masters of Bordeaux, Madame de Longueville, though she deplored its excesses and did what she could to restrain them, was compelled to maintain a good understanding with the society, since by that means alone could she retain possession of the city. In adopting this policy, however, it is necessary to bear in mind that she was simply carrying out the instructions of Condé. That prince, when first informed of the increasing antagonism between the two factions and the persecution with which the moderate party was threatened by the *Ormée*, had charged Lenet to do all in his power to protect it, while, at the same time, taking every precaution not to offend the Ormistes, "lest they come to accuse us of being Mazarins."* But as the power of the *Ormée* grew, he became less inclined to restrain the society, and more disposed to enter into closer relations with it. If by authority and persuasion it was impossible to hold it in check, he told Lenet, they must take its side. "Conduct our affairs," he writes, "in such manner that we shall be always in accord with the strongest party, whether it be the Great or Little Fronde, or the *Ormée*."†

Confident of the support of the populace, and encouraged by the weakness of the Council, the *Ormée*, after endeavouring without success to dominate the Parlement, demanded the expulsion of several counsellors of moderate views, whom it accused of being "Mazarins." Terrified by its threats, or desirous of preserving the peace, the proscribed magistrates retired from the city; but the wealthier classes, who were called, from the fashionable quarter of the town, the *Chapeau Rouge*, were determined not to submit to the tyranny of the mob. They organised themselves into a sort of aristocratic league; and, during the night of June 9–10, there was some fighting in the streets. Next morning, both parties appeared in great force, and a sanguinary struggle had already begun, when Madame de Longueville and the Princesse de Condé rushed out of the archbishop's palace, in which they

* Letter of June 9, 1652. † Letter of August 26, 1652.

resided, and threw themselves between the rival factions. Their entreaties prevailed, and both sides agreed to lay down their arms.

A short respite followed, during which the exiled magistrates returned to the town, and were received by their friends with great enthusiasm. But, on June 23, the fighting was renewed, and the intervention of the princesses was again necessary to separate the combatants. The truce only lasted till the following day, when the *Chapeau Rouge* made a sudden and determined attack upon the *Ormée*, and sought to render themselves masters of the town. Entering her coach, and accompanied by Madame de Longueville, the Princesse de Condé had herself driven to the battle-field; and, for the third time, peace was restored. On this occasion, we read that *Madame la Princesse*, "*fort allumée de colère*," vowed that, the next time there was a breach of the peace, she would, notwithstanding that she was with child,* place herself at the head of those who obeyed her, and cause the offenders to be cut to pieces.† Scarcely, however, had the two ladies returned to the archiepiscopal palace, when the *Ormée*, undismayed by this terrible threat, stormed the Hôtel de Ville and held it throughout the night. In the morning, flushed with success, they marched in great force upon the Quartier de Chapeau Rouge, and attacked the house of a certain M. Pichon, a president of the Parlement, who appears to have been the object of their peculiar animosity. Unhappily for them, M. Pichon had received warning of their intentions, and had taken the precaution to convert his residence into a kind of fortress, from which a withering fire of musketry was opened on the besiegers, of whom more than fifty were killed. Exasperated by their losses, the mob proceeded to storm and set fire to the neighbouring houses; reinforcements came up rapidly on both sides, and it seemed as if the whole city would be delivered up to fire and blood. So fierce was the fighting that it seemed hopeless for the princesses to intervene; but at length they bethought themselves of a happy expedient. Hastening to the curé of the Church of Saint-

* On the night of September 19–20, 1652, the Princesse de Condé gave birth to a son, to whom Madame de Longueville stood godmother. The little prince, who was baptized Louis de Bordeaux, and received the title of Duc de Bourbon, only lived a few weeks.

† Lenet, *Mémoires*.

Messan, they ordered him to accompany them to the scene of the fray, bearing the Holy Sacrament, preceded by the cross and candles. The *cortège* advanced into the very midst of the combatants, who desisted, vanquished once more by the courage and presence of mind of these young women.

So heavy had been the losses of the moderate party on this day, that they were incapable of any further resistance; many of their leaders, fearing the vengeance of their victorious foes, quitted the town, and the *Ormistes* remained masters of the situation. The Council, weakened by its own dissensions and hampered by the orders of Condé, made but feeble efforts to check their tyranny, and soon the government of the city passed, to all intents and purposes, into their hands.

After the return of the King to Paris at the end of October, 1652, there was a general desire among the better classes of Bordeaux to accept the amnesty which had been proclaimed. But the chiefs of the *Ormée* informed the Parlement that they must not register the royal declaration until it had ascertained whether such a step had the approval of *Monsieur le Prince*. Condé, as may be supposed, did not fail to declare that Mazarin's departure from the kingdom was merely a ruse, that before long he would reappear at the head of affairs, and that in reality the situation was unchanged. As the Parlement still showed itself desirous of taking advantage of the King's clemency, the greater number of the royalist members were driven from the town, and established themselves at Agen, just as the loyal portion of the Parlement of Paris had transferred itself to Pontoise. From that moment, the "Little Fronde" deserted the princes and united with that section of the population which had throughout remained faithful to the Crown; while the supporters of Condé were practically confined to the *Ormée* and the rabble which it controlled. The two parties, however, were of very unequal strength: the one, numerous, it is true, but timid and irresolute, without any recognised leaders or any common action; the other, energetic, audacious, and admirably organised.

Condé now resolved to lean entirely upon the *Ormée*; he entered into direct correspondence with the demagogue Villars, advising him to moderate the violence of his attacks on the opposite party, but praising his zeal, and

signing himself: "Your best friend;" and he instructed his representatives at Bordeaux to co-operate with the society. Since, however, he still cherished the hope of one day returning triumphant to Guienne, when he proposed to suppress the *Ormée*, re-establish the Parlement, and rely for his support upon the better classes, he was unwilling to compromise himself with the latter; and we therefore find him, with a meanness which is difficult to excuse, even on the ground of policy, directing Lenet to allow no order of his to appear, so that all the excesses of the *Ormée* might be attributed to the complacency of his brother and sister. "As, when peace is made," he writes, "I should naturally desire the counsellors to be re-established in their offices, and the Parlement in their authority, it would be very convenient if the violence which ought to be used towards the Parlement as a body, and towards the individual members which compose it, could be attributed to the Prince de Conti or to Madame de Longueville; and that, for that reason, no order of mine should appear, in order that one day the dissensions of the past may be the more easily forgotten."

Lenet did not hesitate to conform to his master's instructions; and, in consequence, all the odium of the violent scenes which continued to disgrace the city down to the time of its surrender to the royal troops fell upon Conti and Madame de Longueville, who was still commonly believed to govern her brother, and whose firmness of character and uncompromising opposition to peace marked her out for the reprisals of the royalist party. These took the form of libellous and obscene placards, attacking her in the most shameful manner where she was most vulnerable, which were posted up nightly in the most populous streets of the city. In vain did the unfortunate princess endeavour to suppress these abominable libels; each day they were torn down and burned by the hangman, but each night saw them renewed; and cruelly did she expiate her frailty. "Such insolent and infamous placards against the Prince de Conti and Madame de Longueville have been posted up to-night," writes Lenet to Condé, "that there is no man, however ill-intentioned he may be, who could fail to be horrified by them; they are to be burned by the hangman's hands." And again: "The horrible libel against the Prince de Conti and Madame de Longueville, of which I spoke to your Highness by the last courier, has

been burned by the hangman's hands. That has not prevented the appearance of a worse one, which came from the same shop, and has had the same fate."*

Not content with giving himself entirely to Spain, Condé had for some time past been treating with England. The feeling in that country was, at this period, very hostile to France. The French Government had persistently refused to recognise the Commonwealth, and had given an asylum to the widowed Queen of England and her children; and it was on French soil that the Prince of Wales was weaving his interminable plots for the recovery of his throne. Moreover, there was a good deal of irritation in England, owing to the frequent depredations committed on her commerce by privateers sailing under French letters of marque, a feeling which culminated in September, 1652, by the English fleet attacking and capturing the French ships which were proceeding to the relief of Dunkerque. Condé therefore believed that his overtures were likely to be favourably received by Cromwell; and, at the beginning of October, 1651, he despatched an agent named La Rivière, to ask the Protector for £100,000 and 10,000 men. Cromwell derisively replied that he would come in person with 40,000 foot and 12,000 horse, if he could be assured that at the end of the struggle France would be a Protestant republic, but that otherwise he declined to interfere; and La Rivière returned to his master without having accomplished anything.

However, early in January, 1652, Condé sent two other agents named Cugnac and Barrière to London, together with a M. de Saint-Thomas, who was to request permission from Cromwell to recruit soldiers in Ireland. This permission was readily accorded, and the Irish regiments rendered good service, so long as their pay was forthcoming; but Cugnac and Barrière received scant encourage-

* Letters of December 9 and December 12, 1653. Victor Cousin has published two letters of Madame de Longueville addressed to Lenet, which prove how sensitive she was to these attacks:

"I beg you to get back as many of these placards as you can, and to burn them, for they contain certain absurdities which I am very anxious should not reach Paris. I charge you with it. Render me a satisfactory account of this matter."

"I am told that to-night the placards have again been put up. I doubt not that you are aware of it; and I do not write to you to acquaint you with it, but to tell you that I consider it most essential that every effort should be made to discover and punish the perpetrators of this outrage. I beg you to contrive means for doing this, and to give orders to the persons you consider most suitable for executing this undertaking."

ment. "They come," said Cromwell, "to treat with me on the prince's behalf. What! does he mean to destroy the monarchy, or what is it that he has in his mind? He must promise liberty to the Huguenots, and give us a considerable seaport as security, and other things, before he has a man from us."*

Cromwell, nevertheless, thinking it advisable to ascertain the real strength and feeling of the Protestants in the South of France, despatched thither several agents. The chief of these, Sexby, the Agitator of 1647, and, subsequently, notorious as the author of the pamphlet, "Killing no Murder," went to Bordeaux and entered into very intimate relations with the *Ormée*. Recognising among them kindred spirits, he drew up a manifesto demanding for France a constitution, "which he copied," says Gardiner, "with such changes as were necessary from the first twenty-two articles of Lilburne's latest edition of the 'Agreement of the People.'" A parliament chosen annually by all except servants and those living on alms; trial by jury; abolition of imprisonment for debt; free trade with England; the strict observance of Sunday; and penalties for profanity, drunkenness, and lewdness, were among the changes demanded by this extraordinary document. Joined to it was a declaration, which contained many of the philosophical phrases as to the nature of government which were then common in England among the more advanced republicans.

Such language and such designs terrified Lenet, who hastened to denounce them to Condé; but that prince had long since thrown all scruples to the winds, and was ready to lend himself to any scheme, however extravagant, which might prevent Bordeaux from accepting the amnesty, and bring the desired assistance from England. "To tell you my sentiments about this cabal of the Huguenots," he writes, "which, you tell me, must tend directly to a republic, I think it is not the worst party, and, in my opinion, it is better to support it, without rendering it predominant, than to discourage it: for it is certain that it will not attain its ends, and, by preserving the idea of a republic, the others will be prevented from accepting the amnesty and demanding peace."†

* Gardiner, "History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate."

† Letter of March 10, 1633, *Mémoires de Lenet*.

The disorders at Bordeaux grew daily worse. "Anarchy is increasing; we are only living by a miracle," wrote Lenet, on December 24, 1652. And soon conspiracies came to inflame the ferocity of the *Ormée*.

In the last days of 1652, a Franciscan monk, one Père Berthod, arrived in the city from Paris. He had formerly been a member of the convent of his Order at Bordeaux, and he gave as the reason of his visit the desire of re-establishing his health, which had suffered somewhat from his labours in the capital. Now these labours had of late been of a political, rather than of an evangelical, character, the good Father having taken a very active part in promoting the submission of Paris; and he had been sent to Bordeaux to play a similar rôle. No sooner had he arrived, than he drew aside Père Ithier, the prior of the Franciscan convent, and handed him a letter from the Queen acquainting him with the nature of Père Berthod's mission, and bidding him render her agent every assistance in his power. This the prior, a staunch royalist at heart, as were nearly all the clergy of Bordeaux, readily promised, and put him into communication with several prominent citizens who were of a like way of thinking. However, the very next day, the mystery of Père Berthod's journey was revealed to Conti, by a letter from one of his partisans in Paris. The prince thereupon sent for the monk and ordered him to confess the truth, promising that, if he would do so, he would protect him from the vengeance of the *Ormée*. Berthod, while admitting that he was in the confidence of the Court, protested that the object of his mission had been misrepresented, and that he came as a mediator, and not as a conspirator; and he succeeded in convincing Conti that he spoke the truth. Lenet, who still cherished the hope of an accommodation with the Government, thought that he had found in Berthod the man who could assist him to secure it; and he accordingly charged him to write to the Court declaring that "every one at Bordeaux was against it and in favour of *Monsieur le Prince*, that he was invincible, and that it was most necessary to treat with him."* The monk did as he was desired; but in secret he sent very different advice to Paris, until, about a month later, believing that his double game was on the point of being detected, he made his escape and took refuge with the Duc de Saint-Simon, at Blaye. Conti

* Père Berthod, *Mémoires*.

and Lenet put a price upon his head, and his portrait was posted up all over the town. But Père Berthod was as courageous as he was astute; and, at the beginning of March, 1653, having in the interval paid a visit to Paris, to confer with Mazarin and the Queen, he returned to Bordeaux, this time in disguise, and resumed his intrigues. He again had recourse to the good offices of Père Ithier, who, since he was much esteemed by Conti and Madame de Longueville, and was also an intimate friend of Lenet, had experienced little difficulty in convincing the Council that he had had no part in his colleague's machinations; and very soon a formidable conspiracy was set on foot.

Near the Franciscan convent stood that of the "*Petites Carmélites*,"* with whose prioress, Mère Angelique, Père Ithier was on friendly terms. In this convent the *Ormiste* leader Villars had a sister, to whom he was much attached, and whom he frequently visited. In the course of these visits, he had confessed that he was weary of the life he was leading and disgusted with his associates; and his words were duly reported by his sister to her superior, and by her to Père Ithier. Through the instrumentality of the nuns, a regular treaty was concluded between the two Franciscans and Villars, whereby, in consideration of the sum of 30,000 écus and the office of syndic, when the King's authority had been re-established, the latter undertook to engineer a popular movement which would throw open the gates to the royal troops. The night of March 23 was fixed for the attempt, and everything seemed to indicate success, when suddenly the rascally demagogue's courage failed him, and he revealed everything to Conti. Berthod again succeeded in effecting his escape, disguised as a soldier; but Père Ithier was arrested, and, in fear of torture, made a full confession and disclosed the names of his accomplices.

The fury of the *Ormée* knew no bounds. The houses of the conspirators were sacked by the mob, and they themselves thrown into prison; Père Ithier's father, an old man of seventy, was put to the *question* and so cruelly tortured that he nearly died; and the Franciscans were driven from the city. Thanks, however, to the intervention of Madame de Longueville, no steps were taken against the Carmelites, and their names did not even

* There were at this period at Bordeaux two convents of the Carmelites, situated at opposite extremities of the town.

appear in the *procès-verbal*. As for Père Ithier, he was brought to trial before the tribunal of the *Ormée*, "composed of cobblers, pastry-cooks, and apothecaries," when all the judges were unanimous in condemning him to death, though they were unable to agree as to the manner in which the sentence should be executed. Happily, Madame de Longueville resolved to save him; and, through her efforts, it was decided that, as he was a person of importance, he should be tried before a special commission, presided over by Marsin, which contented itself by condemning the accused to make the *amende honorable*, and to imprisonment for life, in a dungeon, on a diet of bread and water.

This comparatively light sentence greatly enraged the populace, who thirsted for the unfortunate Father's blood; an infuriated mob attacked the cart in which he was being conveyed to prison, and, but for the efforts of the soldiers that escorted it, would have dragged him from it and torn him to pieces. The whole town was in an uproar, and it was only with great difficulty that an insurrection against the authority of the Council was prevented. "See, Madame, the results of your fine counsels," said Lenet to Madame de Longueville. "If this monk had had his throat cut or been hanged, we should not be in these straits." An involuntary homage, observes Victor Cousin, to the princess's kindness of heart.

Undismayed by the example of Père Ithier, the Royalists of Bordeaux multiplied their plots. The scoundrelly Villars, who, to efface the unfavourable impression which his conduct in the recent affair had created among his associates, now displayed the utmost zeal in hunting down suspected persons, arrested an advocate named Chevalier, upon whose person several "treasonable" documents were discovered. He was tried by the tribunal of the *Ormée*, and condemned to death. He asked for a priest, but this request was refused, unless he would consent to make his confession in public; and he was hanged the same day upon the gibbet of the Hôtel de Ville.

Jacques Filhot, a retired officer of the army, and an official of the Treasury at Montauban, entered into a conspiracy with Dussault, a counsellor of the Parlement, the Marquis de Théobon, and some others to seize one of the gates of the town and admit Candale's troops. On the very night fixed for the attempt, the plot was discovered.

Orders were given to take Filhot, alive or dead; but he took refuge in his house, armed his servants and friends, and prepared for a desperate defence. The *Ormistes*, mindful of the losses they had sustained in the attack on the Président Pichon's house in the previous June, dared not attempt to force an entrance, but sent for wood and straw to burn it down. Fearing for the safety of his wife and children, Filhot then ordered the doors to be opened, and the mob rushed in with shouts of triumph. Their quarry, however, had barricaded himself in one of the rooms, and was determined to die sword in hand. Hearing, however, the mob threatening his wife and children, he feared that they would be the victims of his resistance, and, to save them, gave himself up. He was taken before Duretête and other *Ormiste* leaders, who promised to pardon him, if he would betray his accomplices. He declined, and was ordered to be put to the *question*. The hall of the Hôtel de Ville was filled with armed ruffians, awaiting Filhot's expected confession to rush forth and arrest the persons he should mention; but, though he was tortured for four whole hours, in the most barbarous fashion, his firmness was unshaken. Thanks to the devoted care of his wife, he eventually recovered, though he remained a cripple for the rest of his days. Seven years later, when Louis XIV. visited Bordeaux, he desired to see Filhot, and inquired whether the wounds he had received as a martyr for his king still troubled him. "Sire," replied the old hero, "every time I see your Majesty, they become more dear to me."*

But the end of the Fronde at Bordeaux was now approaching. The Vice-Admiral, Du Daugnon, convinced that Condé's cause was hopeless, made terms with the Court and surrendered his ships. The inaction of the Spanish fleet and the feebleness of Don José Osorio,† the commandant of Bourg, resulted in the loss of that stronghold, and opened the Gironde to the royal squadron.

* On his return to France, after the Peace of the Pyrenees, Condé wrote to Filhot with his own hand to express his grief for the sufferings he had involuntarily caused him, and his admiration for his heroism, and to offer him his friendship and a pension of 1,000 écus. Filhot gratefully accepted the prince's friendship, but declined the pension. The State proved itself far less generous than Condé, and the only recognition which Filhot received from it was a pension of 1,800 livres, with remainder to his children, and permission to add a silver *fleur-de-lys* to his arms, which was equivalent to a patent of nobility.

† On his return to Spain, Osorio was brought to trial for pusillanimity and corruption, found guilty, and beheaded.

One after another, the neighbouring towns capitulated, and Vendôme and Candale, combining their operations, drove the army of the princes within the walls of Bordeaux, which was soon closely blockaded.

One hope alone remained—assistance from England, and in April three delegates from the city were despatched to co-operate with Condé's agents in London. Cromwell at first contented himself with some vague assurances of sympathy; but at the beginning of July, Trancas, one of the envoys, wrote that the Protector was willing to furnish assistance, and to drive the King's troops from the whole of Guienne, if Bordeaux itself were put into his hands.

Whether Cromwell was really sincere in making this offer, is doubtful; in all probability, he merely encouraged the hopes of the insurgents in Guienne for the purpose of intimidating the French Government, and obtaining the expulsion of the Stuarts and other concessions from Mazarin; but it is certain that his proposal was taken very seriously at Bordeaux. Marsin, whose treason in Catalonia meant the scaffold if he fell into the hands of the royal troops, was eager to embrace this unlooked-for chance of salvation, as were the leaders of the *Ormée*: while Madame de Longueville, *Madame la Princesse*, and Lenet also appear to have favoured it. Conti, however, with whom the final decision lay, found himself in a very embarrassing position.

A shrewd Gascon abbé, Daniel de Cosnac, who afterwards became Bishop of Valence, and eventually Archbishop of Aix, filled at this time the post of Condé's almoner, and had succeeded in acquiring considerable influence over his master's mind. Cosnac had never encouraged the prince in his irregularities, nor had he taken any part in fomenting the quarrel between him and Madame de Longueville; but he had no scruples about using him to further his own ambitions. Recognising that the Fronde was doomed, and that he had nothing to hope for from that quarter, the abbé determined to secure for himself the favour of the Court, by bringing about a reconciliation between it and Conti.

By a skilfully-conducted intrigue, he contrived that an appeal which Conti had made to Spain for further assistance should be refused, and then represented to him that he was engaged in a hopeless cause, and that, if he persisted in supporting it to the bitter end, he would be irretrievably

ruined; and strongly urged him to make terms with the Court. The feeble prince did not require much persuasion; and, at the beginning of 1653, he permitted negotiations on his part to be opened with the Duc de Candale. Terms were soon arranged; and Conti, in return for a promise that his estates should be restored to him, agreed to abandon his brother's cause and Bordeaux, so soon as he could safely do so.

Both Conti and Cosnac took every precaution to conceal their treachery from the Council, and particularly from Madame de Longueville, whose fidelity the abbé confesses that it would have been useless for them to attempt to overcome. "Madame de Longueville," he writes, "was so attached to the interests of *Monsieur le Prince*, that she would never have consented to any treaty of peace in which he did not participate." They were also very careful to avoid exciting the suspicions of the *Ormée*, from whose fury nothing would have been able to protect them; and, the better to disguise their intentions, Conti pretended to redouble his zeal in the public cause, concluded a formal alliance with the *Ormée*, presided at the trial of those detected in plots to deliver Bordeaux to the King, and signed instructions to the envoys which the town despatched to England. But, as we have mentioned, he found himself in a very embarrassing position when news came from England that Cromwell was prepared to send assistance, if Bordeaux were surrendered to him. Cosnac assures us that his feeble and capricious master, intimidated by Marsin and the *Ormée*, and perhaps inclined to believe that, with English aid, the Fronde might yet succeed in emerging triumphant from the struggle, was for the moment tempted to authorise Cromwell's intervention; and he pretends that it was his remonstrances alone which prevented him taking this step, and induced him to place himself at the head of the party which favoured peace.

The submission of the city was now inevitable, and it was facilitated by Mazarin's wise moderation. It was never the Cardinal's policy to pursue his enemies *à l'outrance*; he preferred to disarm them by conceding reasonable terms, rather than to exterminate them; and he now offered what was, to all intents and purposes, a complete amnesty. The chiefs of the party of the princes were to be free to depart whither they pleased, and no steps were to be taken against the Bordelais, with the exception

of Villars, Duretête, and the envoys who had been despatched to England. The Government also reserved to itself the right of rebuilding the two fortresses of Trompette and Hô, which had been demolished by the insurgents.

The great majority of the citizens, weary of disorder and bloodshed, had long been eager for peace, though, during the last few months, the terrorism exercised by the *Ormée* had reduced them to silence. Now, however, they took heart of grace once more; the cry of "*Vive le roi et la paix!*" began to be heard in the streets; and public meetings were held, and resolutions carried in favour of surrendering the town. The Council was in accord with public opinion. Conti, as we have seen, had already been gained over; and, though the fidelity of Madame de Longueville, *Madame la Princesse*, Marsin, and Lenet was inviolable, they were compelled to recognise the futility of further resistance. Bordeaux was hemmed in on every side; provisions were becoming scarce,* and the Spanish fleet, still hovering at the mouth of the Gironde, obstinately refused to make the slightest attempt to break the blockade. Their last scruples were removed, when a message arrived from Condé, authorising the Council to surrender the town, if Marsin's troops were not disbanded and were permitted to join him at Stenai. After some demur, this condition was accepted by Mazarin, and the only difficulty in the way of submission removed.

On July 19, Conti met a great assembly of the citizens, and declared himself in favour of peace. On the 20th, all those who had been imprisoned by the *Ormée* were set at liberty, including Père Ithier and Filhot. Four days later, the capitulation was signed by Conti and the other members of the Council, all of whom shortly afterwards left the city and went their several ways. *Madame la Princesse*, the little Duc d'Enghien, and Lenet set out for Flanders to join Condé. Marsin, after offering his sword to Philip IV. and subsequently to Cromwell, returned to the service of *Monsieur le Prince*. Conti withdrew to his estate at La Grange, near Pézénas, in Languedoc, whither the fascinating Madame de Calvimont had preceded him; but, in the following year, terminated his amorous adventures by espousing Mazarin's niece, the beautiful and virtuous Anne Marie Martinozzi. As for Madame de

* Writing to Condé, under date July 29, 1653, Lenet declares that the city had held out "to the last morsel of bread;" but this was mere hyperbole.

Longueville, she seems for a moment to have entertained the idea of accompanying her sister-in-law to Flanders; but, recognising that, crippled as were her resources, she would be rather a burden than an assistance to her brother in his exile, and utterly wearied and disheartened by the events of the past two years, she finally requested and obtained permission from the Court to retire to a country-house belonging to her husband at Montreuil-Bellay, in Anjou.

On August 3, the Ducs de Candale and de Vendôme entered Bordeaux in triumph. The red flag, the detestable symbol of the excesses of the *Ormée*, as it was later of those of the Jacobins and the Communists, had been removed from the belfry of Saint Michel, and replaced by the white banner of France; and, amid loyal acclamations, the two dukes, accompanied by a magnificent suite, rode through the streets to the metropolitan church of Saint-André, where the *Te Deum* was sung, and Père Ithier, who seems to have been little the worse for his four months of bread and water, preached an eloquent sermon in honour of the peace.* The amnesty was religiously observed. Of the five who had been exempted from it, the envoys remained in England, and so escaped punishment; while Villars was smuggled out of the town by Conti, among his baggage and servants. Duretête was less fortunate, and paid for all. He attempted to escape, concealed in a hay-cart, but was detected, arrested, and condemned to be broken on the wheel. The sentence was executed on the very terrace from which the *Ormée* took its name, and where his incitements to violence and outrage had been so often applauded; and his body was afterwards quartered and placed on the gates of the city as a warning to others. The two fortresses of Trompette and Hô were rebuilt and made so strong as to check any further turbulence; the Comte d'Estrades was appointed perpetual Mayor of Bordeaux; the Duc d'Épernon re-established in the government of Guienne; and both town and province became as loyal and peaceable as the rest of France.

* Not long afterwards, Père Ithier was rewarded for his sufferings in the royal cause by being appointed Bishop of Glandèves.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE CONVERSION OF MADAME DE LONGUEVILLE

NOW began for Madame de Longueville a life very different from the one of intrigue and adventure which she had led during the past five years. Irksome as had been her condition at Bordeaux, it had at least had the advantage of preventing her from dwelling upon her misfortunes. But in the lonely château at Montreuil-Bellay, separated from all her relatives and friends, and condemned to the, to her, intolerable monotony of country life, she had ample time for reflection. And her reflections must have been indeed bitter. From the idolized heroine of a great and successful party, she had become the discredited adventuress of a crushed and beaten one; she had lost everything: her personal property, even to her jewellery, her self-respect, her peace of mind; she had ruined her elder brother; and, worst of all, had brought untold misery upon her country.

Sympathetic biographers, while deploring the misfortunes which Madame de Longueville's misplaced ambitions had brought upon her family and friends, have touched but lightly upon the terrible misery and disaster for which she must be held, in a large measure, responsible. The devastation wrought by the Fronde is almost incredible. "These La Rochefoucaulds, these Condés, at the head of their barons, were, for the time, brigands of the high-road."* Whole districts were laid waste: the crops destroyed, the sheep and cattle carried off, the villages plundered and burned; men were murdered and tortured, and women outraged. Many who had been accounted men of substance thought themselves fortunate if they could find bread for their families and straw to lie upon: thousands of the wretched peasants were reduced to living on roots and spoiled fruit, and vast numbers perished of starvation.† In the town of Laon, in 1652, between two and three thousand persons were constantly asking for relief; in the following year, there

* M. Bourdeau, *La Rochefoucauld.*

† During the winter of 1650-1651, as many as two hundred persons are said to have died of hunger every day in the provinces of Picardy and Champagne.

were said to be over six hundred orphans under twelve in the town. At Marle, in 1651, more than one hundred houses in the faubourgs were burned to the ground. In the faubourgs of Saint-Quentin, there was scarcely a house left standing, and their former inmates were living, crowded together, in mud huts. Much the same state of things prevailed in Guienne, Saintonge, Angoumois, Berry, Touraine, and several other provinces.

The noble efforts subsequently made by Madame de Longueville to atone, so far as lay within her power, for the calamities to which she had so largely contributed, proves that she fully appreciated her responsibility, and that it occasioned her the keenest remorse.

Still unwavering in her fidelity to Condé, the princess was resolved to ask no favours of the Court, until her brother had made his peace with the King. And she continued to proclaim her devotion to his cause. "I think," she writes to Lenet, "that he [Condé] has been informed of the line of conduct I have followed since my departure from Bordeaux, and that he is aware that I have not sent to the Court to ask for the amnesty. Thus, it has not been granted to me, notwithstanding all that M. de Longueville has done. He informs me that it is necessary, in his interests, that I should write to the Court—that is to say, to the King, the Queen, and the Cardinal; but, since I desire to do my duty to the end, and retain the good fortune I have had of not being suspected, even by my enemies, of having failed therein, I have written to M. de Longueville, to beg him to approve of my not sending one of my people to the Court, as I desire nothing of them, so long as my brother remains in his present condition."*

Early in the following year, Madame de Longueville received permission from the King to leave Montreuil-Bellay and take up her residence at the Couvent de la Visitation, at Moulins, with her aunt Maria Felicia Orsini, widow of Henri II., Duc de Montmorency, whose tragic death had made such a profound impression upon her as a girl of thirteen, and had confirmed her in her desire to enter the Carmelites. Ever since that time, the widowed duchess had led a life of the most fervent piety in the Couvent de la Visitation, of which she had become Superior, and was regarded as "one of the most perfect models of all the virtues."† She welcomed her niece

* Letter of October 25, 1653.

† Bourgoing de Villefore.

with the utmost affection and sympathy, and her gentle influence and admirable example were not without effect. The early religious impressions which Madame de Longueville had received among the Carmelites of the Rue Saint-Jacques had, as we have seen, been too profound ever to be wholly extinguished, and, amid the favourable surroundings in which she now found herself, they speedily began to revive.

In a general self-examination written by her in November, 1651, at the request of her confessor, Antoine Singlin, the princess has herself related how the light came to her weary soul, while reading some religious work, the name of which she does not tell us. "It seemed to me," she writes, "as though a curtain were drawn from before the eyes of my mind; all the charms of the truth, united under a single object, presented themselves before me. Faith, which had appeared as though dead and buried beneath my passions, was renewed. I found myself like unto a person who, after a profound sleep, wherein she had dreamed that she was great, happy, honoured, and esteemed by all the world, suddenly awakes to discover herself loaded with chains, pierced with wounds, overcome with weakness, and shut up in a gloomy prison."*

From that day—the anniversary of which she never failed to observe—down to the time of her death, she appears to have resolved to renounce the world, to surrender every ambition and every pleasure, and to consecrate the rest of her life to her duties as a wife and mother, to good works and to the most austere piety; and in this resolution she never for a moment wavered.

Notwithstanding the pious and exemplary life which Madame de Longueville led at Moulins, slander seems to have been busy with her name; and towards the end of April, 1654, we find the Duchesse de Montmorency addressing the following letter to M. de Longueville, to contradict certain injurious reports which were being circulated about his wife:

"Moulins, le Couvent de la Visitation,
"22 *April*, 1654.

"I am informed by the Duchesse de Longueville that, notwithstanding the wise and prudent conduct that she has adopted, people do not fail to tax her with carrying

* *Supplément au Nécrologe de Port-Royal* (Paris, 1735).

on intrigues and receiving visits. . . . As for the first, I have not perceived that she has broken her promise to me. As for the visits which she ought not to receive, she has received none; and also with regard to the others, she goes so seldom to the parlour, that I may assert, without fear of telling an untruth, that she goes there scarcely at all, and, on the rare occasions when she does, it is at hours when every one may see who comes there. We have no parlour which is not open to all who wish to enter. . . . I believe myself obliged to say what I know about the matter. I should wish, also, to be able to speak of the good actions of her Highness, and how much I admire them; but there are things which words impair. . . . If one were to say that she follows almost all the exercises of religion, one would speak more truthfully, and thereby one might find that very little time remains for the parlour, to which she only makes up her mind to go with difficulty . . . and, since she has been here, no persons of consideration have visited it; so that I do not know what foundation there is for this talk, which has greatly surprised me, who am witness to the contrary. If it were necessary to vouch with my blood for the truth of what I am saying, I should not spare it, not only because of the affection and esteem I entertain for the person in question, but because naturally I have an aversion for inventions. . . . I assure you of her goodwill and of my own. If she had had other thoughts, it is certain that she would not have chosen this place or me for a witness. I would that I had words strong enough, as her conduct is pure, to show it to you as it really is, and to represent to you the reasonable and Christian sentiments which she entertains. You would easily understand that the persons who honour her cannot say all the good that is to be said. As for myself, I frankly confess that my hand is incapable of estimating the least part of them, but I thought that those who are busying themselves on her behalf would be very pleased to have my evidence, which is in accordance with the plain truth; and I hope that God will take her under His protection, since she trusts so confidently in Him."*

On March 27, 1654, Condé was tried, by default, for high treason, with the result that he was declared to have forfeited the name of Bourbon and his rank as Prince of

* Published by the Duc d'Aumale, *Histoire des Princes de Condé*.

the Blood, and all his property was confiscated. However, five years were allowed him "to purge his contumacy," during which nothing was to be touched; and, before that time had elapsed, the negotiations which ended in the Peace of the Pyrenees and the pardon of Condé had already begun.

The condemnation of her much-loved brother seems to have greatly affected Madame de Longueville, who regarded herself, and with justice, as the principal author of his misfortunes; and, on learning the news, we find her writing to the Prioress of the Carmelites of the Rue Saint-Jacques, to express the grief which it had caused her, and to beg for her prayers, both on her own and her brother's behalf:

"I am so habituated to misfortunes, that, provided they only affect myself, I am now sufficiently disposed to bear them, if not with patience, at least with a calmness of mind which approaches it; but I confess that I do not find myself in the same tranquillity when the evils which attack me attack, also, Monsieur my brother. . . . I give you a thousand thanks for all the favours you have done us in praying for us. Continue, I beg you, to ask for me that I may put our misfortunes to good purpose; I say our misfortunes, since I include Monsieur my brother; it is impossible that so great a man should be suffered to be unhappy always, and, since God has ordained that he should be so in Time, entreat of Him that he should not be so in Eternity. Earnestly I entreat your special prayers for his conversion."*

Madame de Longueville remained at Moulins for some ten months, during which her husband, aided by her friends the Princess Palatine and Madame de Sablé, worked on her behalf at the Court. The aversion with which Anne of Austria had, for some years past, regarded the princess, and Mazarin's fear that, if she were permitted to join her husband in Normandy, she might attempt to excite some disturbance in that province in Condé's favour, presented serious obstacles. But, at length, towards the end of November, 1654, she received permission to leave Moulins and pay a visit to some friends, the

* Published by Bourgoing de Villefore.

La Croisettes, at Acquigny, where she was joined by the Duc de Longueville.

The meeting with her husband, whom she had not seen for more than three years, and who had so many causes of complaint against her, must have been a very embarrassing event for Madame de Longueville. Happily for her, the duke was one of the most kind-hearted and chivalrous of men, and, convinced of the sincerity of her repentance, and perhaps reflecting that his own conduct in regard to his wife had not been altogether free from blame, he received her with every demonstration of affection and sympathy, and did all in his power to make her "submission" an easy one. On December 3, we find the princess writing to Lenet as follows:

"ACQUIGNY,
"*December* 3, 1654.

"I am too much obliged to you for interesting yourself as you are doing in what concerns me. I have no doubt of it whatever, and on that basis I have been very easily persuaded that you would be pleased at my return to M. de Longueville, who has received me with infinite joy. He is here at present, and I have so little time to myself, that I cannot write to you fully the particulars of my return, which are all very gratifying, and such as I have reason to be proud of, since I owe it to M. de Longueville alone, and up to the end all my enemies constantly opposed me. The Court has shown me much consideration at this juncture, and I have every reason to be satisfied, so far as my personal interests are concerned. I ask nothing more of God, except peace, and I ask of you the continuation of your friendship, and that you may not doubt my own. My compliments to M. de Marsin."*

About a fortnight later, Madame de Longueville received permission from the King "to go to his town of Rouen and wherever else she might wish to go within his province of Normandy."

During the next six years, Madame de Longueville's life seems to have been very uneventful. She passed the greater part of her time with her husband in Normandy,

* Published by the Duc d'Aumale, *Histoire des Princes de Condé.*

either at his château of Trie or at the Vieux-Palais at Rouen, superintending the education of her two boys, and leading a life of the most rigorous piety. Her charity was boundless; and, not content with responding generously to all who appealed to her benevolence, she was at considerable pains to seek out deserving objects of her compassion, particularly those who had suffered through her and her party, and to assist them by every means in her power. In 1655, she accompanied her husband, who, with increasing years, had become a martyr to the gout, to the baths of Bourbon, and, while there, defrayed the expenses of a great number of poor persons of the neighbourhood who were in need of the waters, but whose poverty prevented them from benefiting by them. Before leaving, moreover, she made arrangements to ensure that the good work which she had begun might be continued.

The princess continued to follow with the keenest anxiety the fortunes of Condé, and that time and absence had in no way diminished the deep affection which she had always cherished for him is shown by the following letter, which she addressed to the prince, in the autumn of 1657, on learning that he was ill:

"Trie,

"14 *November*, 1657.

"I have learned on my return from Caen of your illness, and, although I am assured on your behalf that it is nothing dangerous, I cannot obey the order which you give me not to trouble myself about it, for I confess to you that I do so in a way which cannot be imagined. It is at such times as these that one feels with redoubled violence the grief which one always experiences at your unhappy absence, and one cannot console oneself for being unable to hasten to you, to see and to serve you. In God's name, have the charity to give instructions that news of you may be sent me regularly, so long as your illness lasts. We have just arrived from Caen, where I intended to have my children painted for you; but the artists there are so execrable, that I preferred to have nothing done, since I do not wish you to behold their faces as though they were worse-looking than they are, having too much concern and desire that they should please you. The first time we go to see them, I shall take an artist from Paris, in order to send them to you. But this is not the time to

weary you with a long letter. I must conclude it, and assure you that, if my prayers were efficacious, you would soon be perfectly cured and entirely content. Adieu, my dear brother; I am wholly yours."*

The path of pentience is never an easy one, and for some years Madame de Longueville appears to have found it peculiarly thorny. So great was her humility that, instead of having recourse to the guidance of some wise and enlightened director, she took for her confessor an old parish priest, a pious and well-meaning man, but ignorant, narrow-minded, and altogether incapable of understanding the spiritual needs of such a woman. Abusing her repentance and her humility, he proceeded to impose upon her the most rigorous practices of a vulgar devotion. The poor woman, having accused herself of an inclination for social gatherings, the reading of books of a somewhat frivolous nature, and fashionable attire, her confessor forbade her to mix in society, interdicted all reading, save works of piety, often very insipid, and—what his hapless penitent must have found more trying than either—prohibited the wearing of any jewellery, or even the ordinary dress of a woman of rank, and directed her "to bury her blond locks and conceal that charming figure under long robes and extravagant *coiffes* resembling those of a nun."†

Madame de Longueville, although her whole nature revolted against these extravagances, submitted to them with the utmost docility, as well as to the frequent fasting which was also prescribed, and which she appears to have carried to far greater lengths than even her director was aware of. But before long these austerities began to affect her health, and, had not the Duc de Longueville, alarmed at the change in his wife, insisted on her moderating them to some extent, she would have fallen seriously ill.

Although the princess had practically withdrawn from the fashionable world in which she had once been so prominent a figure, she still continued her intercourse with a few of her most intimate friends. The Palatine, "who did not love her less now that she had become devout, than she had loved her as a worldling," came to visit her

* *Archives de Condé*, Chantilly, published by the Duc d'Aumale, *Histoire des Princes de Condé*.

† Victor Cousin, *Madame de Sablé*.

in Normandy, in the autumn of 1655, and the two princesses "passed together delightful days, in which their talk ran often upon the vanity of human affairs."* Fifteen years later, Anne de Gonzague, as the result, according to Bossuet, of "one of those dreams which God causes to come from Heaven through the ministration of the angels,"† was herself to be converted, and to plunge into devotion with as much fervour as she had formerly displayed in political intrigue.

Another lady who was on terms of the closest friendship with Madame de Longueville at this period was Mlle. de Vertus, a younger sister of the too-celebrated Madame de Montbazon. Without being a beauty, Mlle. de Vertus, was, or had been, of very prepossessing appearance; but the failure of her parents to provide her with the indispensable *dot*, or, indeed, with any means of support, had condemned her to seek an asylum, first, with the Comtesse de Soissons, and, afterwards, with the Duchesse de Rohan. She was an estimable young woman, amiable and cultured; and, notwithstanding the liberty she had enjoyed, and the deplorable example of her elder sister, even Tallemant des Réaux has spared her character. Shortly before the close of the Fronde, "God had shown her the strait path which leads to life,"‡ and she had been in retreat at the Couvent de la Visitation, at Moulins, at the same time as Madame de Longueville, where her example and counsel would appear to have contributed not a little to the important resolution which the princess then formed. Mlle. de Vertus also seems to have rendered her friend valuable assistance in bringing about the reconciliation between her and her husband; and from that time forward she exercised a great influence over Madame de Longueville, who held her in high esteem, and after the duke's death, in 1663, invited her to make her home with her.

Towards the end of 1659, or the beginning of 1660, when the Peace of the Pyrenees had opened France to Condé, and Madame de Longueville was again able to visit Paris, she renewed her former intimacy with Madame de Sablé, who had been her guide and philosopher when she first entered society, and who, notwithstanding the great

* Bourgoing de Villefore.

† *Oraison funèbre de la Princesse Palatine.*

‡ *Nécrologe de Port-Royal* (Amsterdam, 1723).

disparity in their ages, had always remained one of her dearest friends. Madame de Sablé had lately exchanged Spanish *galanterie* for Jansenism, and her hôtel in the Place-Royale for a modest house within the precincts of the Abbey of Port-Royal-de-Paris,* in the Rue de la Bourbe, not far from the Carmelites of the Rue Saint-Jacques. Here the marchioness proceeded to "make her soul," as the Irish say, without, however, neglecting her other occupations. She had always been the queen of the *gourmets* —a kind of seventeenth-century Brillat-Savarin—and, though she was warned that she would never drive the devil away from her, so long as she permitted him to remain firmly entrenched in her kitchen, she refused to sacrifice the very excellent *chef* she employed to, what she considered, the prejudices of her confessor, and continued to give choice little dinners to her numerous friends. She was also extraordinarily careful of her health, to such a degree, that the first *Madame*—the ill-fated Henrietta of England—once wrote, playfully excusing herself from coming to see her, on the ground that she had a cold, and feared that the sight of her alone might make her friend ill; and she had composed elixirs for every disease under the sun, from the "vapours" to small-pox. Her taste for intellectual society remained unaffected by her so-called retreat, and she continued to surround herself with a body of *beaux esprits* who made her little gabled house another Hôtel de Rambouillet in miniature. Here might be met the beautiful and devout Madame de Guéménée; Julie d'Angennes, Duchesse de Montausier, and her austere husband; Marie de Hautefort, now Duchesse de Schomberg; Madame de la Fayette and Madame de Sévigné; the Abbé Testu—whom the last-named lady so unjustly accuses, in one of her letters, of carrying on an intrigue with Madame de Montespan's sister, the beautiful and virtuous Gabrielle de Rochechouart, Abbess of Fontevrault, and to whom Louis XIV. refused a bishopric, with the remark that those who failed to rule themselves, could not be expected to rule others; Jacques Esprit, of the Academy, La Rochefoucauld, and Madame de Brégy, an egregious flatterer

* In 1625, the nuns of Port-Royal-des-Champs, which was situated in the valley of Chevreuse, about eighteen miles from the capital, had removed to the monastery in the Faubourg Saint-Jacques, hereafter known as Port-Royal-de-Paris, to distinguish it from the other. It was about 1638 that the first of the famous little group of "hermits" took up their abode in the outer precincts of the deserted monastery.

of her hostess,* together with some of the great lights of the Jansenists: Antoine Arnauld, Nicole, Pascal, and the grave jurisconsult Domat.

All things in heaven and earth seem to have been discussed at Madame de Sablé's house, but, as was only appropriate in a company which assembled beneath the shadow of a monastery, serious topics predominated. The habitués were interested in Descartes, in logic, in the quarrels between Jesuits and Jansenists, and in the human passions in general; and the portfolios of Valant, preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, which may be considered as the archives of the marchioness's salon, show that it was their custom to condense the subjects of these long conversations into brief and expressive sentences. Madame de Sablé's salon, indeed, is chiefly noteworthy for having inaugurated a new phase in French prose—for having brought into vogue the *maximes* and *pensées*, in which the thoughts of many great minds have since found expression. The hostess herself wrote *Maximes*, which were collected and published by her friend, the Abbé d'Ailly, shortly after her death,† and she communicated her taste for this form of expression to her friends. Victor Cousin goes so far as to believe that, had it not been for her, we should never have had Pascal's masterpiece; but however that may be, it is certain that she inspired and even, in some sense, may be said to have collaborated with La Rochefoucauld in the composition of his *Maximes*. His letters to Madame de Sablé prove that he consulted her continually, both on the subject and the form of his reflections. "You know," he writes to her on one occasion, "that I trust only you in certain matters, and particularly concerning the intricacies of the heart." And again: "Sentences are not sentences until you have approved them. You cannot disapprove of them all, for many of them are yours." Madame de Sablé, in her turn, passed them on to her friends for their opinion,

* "I saw you yesterday, Madame," she writes, "so beautiful and so charming, that, if the famous Paris had encountered you, also, on his way the day that he bestowed the apple, it would have been yours; and, by the justice which he would have done you against the goddesses, he would have escaped the fatal present of the heart of Helen, which cost him so many calamities, and of which perhaps he repented." This letter is dated October 29, 1677, when Madame de Sablé was in her seventy-ninth year!—Published by M. Victor du Bled, *la Societé française du XVIe au XXe siècle: la Société et Port-Royal.*

† They were subsequently reprinted at the end of an edition of La Rochefoucauld's *Maximes* published, at Amsterdam, in 1704.

sometimes without the knowledge of the writer; and we find the Duchesse de Schomberg writing that she considers that certain sentences are not good French—"that is to say, they contain phrases and expressions which savour rather of a man of the Court than of an author."

Madame de Longueville not only visited Madame de Sablé, but she maintained an active correspondence with her. In the portfolios of Valant, Victor Cousin discovered more than two hundred letters from the princess to her friend, extending over a period of more than fifteen years, that is to say, from 1659 or 1660 to 1674. No doubt this correspondence began at an earlier date and continued down to the time of Madame de Sablé's death, in 1678; but, though few of the letters are dated, practically all of them, in Cousin's opinion, belong to the period mentioned. A singular feature about these letters is that the two ladies appear to have agreed to destroy each other's epistles so soon as they had been read. Madame de Longueville is continually reminding her friend of this arrangement, and assuring her that she has scrupulously observed her part of the bargain: "Burn this note immediately, I beg you, and all those I write you as well, and send me word that it is burnt;" "Have no fear for your letter: I will burn it so soon as I have read it;" "Do not fear to write plainly, since I burn your letters the moment I have read them;" "Burn this, in God's name;" and so forth. But, while Madame de Longueville seems to have faithfully observed their agreement, since none of Madame de Sablé's letters have come to light, the marchioness kept those of her friend—a breach of faith which students of seventeenth-century society will find it hard not to forgive—and handed them over to her friend Valant, who not only religiously preserved them, but made copies of a great number, since many letters are marked: "Longueville. *Copie, numéro . . . Collationné, page . . .*" These copies have disappeared, which, however, matters little, since the originals are in existence.

As might be expected from the fact that these letters of Madame de Longueville were intended only for the eyes of an old friend, and, when read, to be consigned to the fire, they are singularly frank and quite innocent of any pretensions to literary elegance. "She writes from pure necessity, with a running pen, to say what she wishes to

say, without caring in the least about style "* Nevertheless, in spite of the "interminable phrases" which tried the patience of Sainte-Beuve,† they are not without a certain natural grace; while they reveal the mind of the writer in a way we may seek in vain in those studied epistles, destined to be passed round for the delectation of an admiring circle of friends, and afterwards to be handed down to posterity.

So long as her husband lived, Madame de Longueville believed it to be her duty, out of consideration for his position, to steer a kind of middle course between the austere piety to which she inclined and the conventions of society. Like all the devotees of the seventeenth century, she regarded the theatre and everything connected with it as anathema.‡ And, although, when the Duc de Longueville was in residence at Rouen, the capital of his government, she frequently gave princely entertainments, she firmly refused to allow plays to be performed in her house or her children to take part in them. On the other hand, she never sought to prevent any relatives or friends who happened to be visiting her from amusing themselves in this manner, and, as the following letter to Madame de Sablé shows, she was not a little indignant on learning that a rumour was current that she had interdicted this amusement to her sister-in-law, the Princesse de Conti.

"ROUEN,
"*May* 21 [1660].

". . . I learn that a very exaggerated rumour has been circulated about my severity in regard to the play. Here is the truth of this story: My children were engaged to give a play to my sister-in-law, and that without saying a word about it to me. The first news that I learned of this was that the affair was all arranged. I was astonished at it, because, when M. de Longueville is not residing in the same place as I am, and my children are under my control, I do not permit them to go either to ball or play, because I am convinced that, unless there is an indispensable necessity for these kinds of functions, they are

* Victor Cousin, *Madame de Sablé.*

† Sainte-Beuve, *Portraits de Femmes: Madame de Longueville.*

‡ On the attitude of the Gallican Church towards the Theatre, see M. Gaston Maugras's *les Comédiens, hors la loi*, and the author's "Queens of the French Stage: The Wife of Molière."

sinful. I admit then that, taking into consideration also the example this would set in a town where I have authority, the inconsistency that I should show by condemning the play by my language, and in permitting, at the same time, my children to give a performance, made me resolve to bid them excuse themselves. This severity affected my children alone, for, in regard to my sister-in-law, over whom I have no sort of authority, I have not prevented other persons in the town from performing plays for her amusement, and, on some occasions, I have even thanked them for the trouble they have taken to divert her. You will see clearly that my discipline extends only over those for whom I am answerable to God, and not over others. And so much is this the case, that from the moment M. de Longueville returns, I do not prevent my children from doing these things, since it is right that, when he is present, he should direct the family. I do not pay too much heed nowadays to what the world says; but, since I am aware that I am made to say or do what I have neither said nor done, I am well pleased that you should know the truth of this story, in order that you may tell it when occasion arises, but, nevertheless, without courting such occasions too much."

Madame de Longueville had at first regarded her brother's marriage with Anne Marie Martinozzi with grave displeasure; but when, towards the end of the year 1657, she was reconciled to Conti, and made the acquaintance of his wife, she did not fail to appreciate the many excellent qualities of this admirable woman, and they speedily became fast friends. After his marriage, Conti had been made Governor of Guienne, in place of his elder brother, and given the command of the French army in Catalonia, where he forced the Spaniards to raise the siege of Roses, and gained some small victories. In 1657, he was transferred to the army in Italy, but met with little success; and, on his return to France, received the government of Languedoc. Here he met the saintly Nicolas Pavillon, Bishop of Alet, and under his influence, joined to that of Madame de Longueville, he was converted and became exceedingly devout, as did his wife, although up to that time she had been, according to her own expression, "merely an honest pagan." Madame de Sévigné tells us that "the beauty of his [Conti's] penitence

surpassed the ugliness of his faults." It was certainly of an extremely rigorous type; but it is somewhat curious to see this erstwhile patron of Molière indulging in violent diatribes against the theatre, and gravely informing the world that a troupe of actors is a "troupe of devils," and to amuse oneself at the play is "to delight the demon."*

In 1661, the Princesse de Conti was offered a post at Court. Madame de Longueville, who watched over her sister-in-law with an almost maternal tenderness, feared that her piety and virtue might not be proof against the dangers and temptations she would have to encounter, and writes to her friend at Port-Royal:

"ROUEN,
"22 *June* [1661].

". . . Truly, if the Princesse de Conti were able to maintain at Court the virtuous life she now leads, I should wish her to be there; but how can she? And is it not to expose people to certain perils, to place them in such posts at twenty-four years of age, beautiful, happy, and in the midst of grandeur and pleasure? And to expect them to emerge safe and sound from such things! It is to credit them with supernatural powers. That is why I am unwilling to make myself a party to it; but, at the same time, I do not wish to deter her, because God may have intentions, and He is able to preserve her in that place, if He wishes to make use of her to sanctify it, as He preserved the three children in the furnace of Babylon."

The Princesse de Conti would seem to have been a singularly unsophisticated young woman, for in another letter—presumably anterior to the preceding, though the year is not given—Madame de Longueville writes:

"TRIE,
"24 *June.*

". . . I am ashamed of what you tell me about the conduct of the Princesse de Conti towards Madame de la Meilleraie. She does not act thus with the intention of failing in courtesy towards people; but it is true that she does not know how one ought to behave towards the world. I have never heard her speak of that. When you see Madame de la Meilleraie, tell her, if you please, how

* *Traité de la comédie et les spectacles, selon la tradition de l'Église* (1667).

very much annoyed I am that a person so nearly related to me should have treated her in this manner."

Madame de Sablé, as we have mentioned, took the most extraordinary care of her health, and had the most intense dread of infection. Before taking up her residence at Port-Royal, she had exacted a solemn promise from the nuns that she should immediately be informed if any of their community fell sick, and also of the exact nature of the malady; and it seems to have been a point of honour among her friends never to approach her without permission, if they had so much as entered a house where a person was suffering from an infectious ailment, even of the most trivial nature. Madame de Longueville good-naturedly humoured the old lady's weakness. Here is an amusing letter which she wrote her at a time when her nephew, the Duc d'Enghien, was suffering from an attack of measles:

"TRIE,
"22 *October*.

". . . I have been somewhat indisposed ever since I last saw you; my brother, the Prince de Conti, has been in retreat, and thus I have not been able to come and see you. Now there is a new obstacle to my doing so: my nephew has the measles. I do not see him, but I see those who do. Let me know then if, when my health will permit me to see you, this circumstance will not prevent you from wishing it, and whether you would also like to see my brother, for he goes to the Hôtel de Condé, though he does not see my nephew.

"I know not for certain if he entered my nephew's room yesterday, but, from what I know of my brother, I should say not, for he is the most discreet person imaginable in these matters; and, further, I am well aware that, even in the case of the most trivial ailments, he does not go into my nephew's room, for he does not like it. But, in any case, I should take the water,* if I were in your place; and, if you wish, I will ascertain the facts of the matter and let you know, in case you should be too much alarmed if you learn that what you fear is true."

The return of Condé to France after the Peace of the

* Presumably some elixir of Madame de Sablé's composition against infection.

Pyrenees, by which, thanks to the firmness of Spain, he had been re-established in his property and all his titles and offices, was a great joy to Madame de Longueville. On December 29, 1659, *Monsieur le Prince*, accompanied by the Duc d'Enghien, left Brussels, and, on January 4, arrived at the Château of Coulommiers, whither M. and Madame de Longueville had come to welcome him. The meeting between the brother and sister, after their separation of nearly eight years, was a very tender one, and the latter received the reward of her unswerving fidelity to Condé's interests in the affection and esteem which the prince continued to show for her during the rest of her life. After remaining a week at Coulommiers, Madame de Longueville and the Princesse de Condé, who had joined her husband the day after his arrival, set out for Trie; the Duc d'Enghien was sent to Augerville, to the house of the Président Perrault, who had himself recently returned from exile; while Condé, accompanied by his brother-in-law, continued his journey to Aix, in Provence, where the Court then was, to salute the King. At Lambesc, they were met by Conti, who must have been not a little uneasy as to the reception he was likely to meet with from the brother whose cause he had betrayed. However, Condé greeted him affectionately, and, though the intimacy which had once existed between them was never renewed, they remained on friendly terms. On January 27, *Monsieur le Prince* reached Aix and went at once to visit Mazarin, to whom, since the Peace of the Pyrenees, he had written several "rather civil" letters. The interview between the two old enemies, though necessarily somewhat constrained, passed off satisfactorily enough. Condé recognised that the Cardinal was now far too firmly seated in the saddle ever to be dislodged, while Mazarin felt that he could afford to be magnanimous. At its conclusion, the prince was "introduced into the Queen's chamber, where he presented his respects to their Majesties."* The memoirs of the time—even those of *Mademoiselle*, who does not conceal her disgust at not having been able to learn anything—are silent regarding this interview, which lasted more than an hour. No one seems to know what passed, but all are agreed that the Prince de Condé, when it was over, appeared to be as much at his ease at Court as if he had never left it.

* *Gazette de France*, 1660.

The following evening, the prince supped with Mazarin, who entertained him magnificently; and on February 4 the Court set out for Toulon, while Condé took the road to Paris. Here he met with a most cordial reception: the Parlement and the other courts presented him with an address of welcome: all Paris hastened to follow their example; and the Hôtel de Condé, so long deserted, was for some weeks the centre of animation. Once more history repeated itself. Although Condé had been longer than his father before him in learning his lesson, he had learned it even more thoroughly. "Thenceforth," says Montglat, "he determined to live as a private individual, without taking part in anything, and to have a complete and entire complaisance and docility for the Court and its favourites."* In this resolution he never wavered, and to the end of the prince's life Louis XIV. had no more faithful servant, no more devoted courtier, than the former chief of the Fronde.

CHAPTER XXV

MADAME DE LONGUEVILLE AND PORT-ROYAL

ALTHOUGH the return of her brother to favour would have permitted Madame de Longueville, had she so desired, to resume her place at Court, she preferred to remain in Normandy, and to lead the same retired life. She paid occasional brief visits to Paris, most of her time being spent with Madame de Sablé, or with the Carmelites of the Rue Saint-Jacques, but she did not reappear at Court. However, the reports of her piety and benevolence which had reached them had convinced Louis XIV. and Anne of Austria of the sincerity of the princess's conversion, and so entirely disarmed their hostility, that the Duc de Longueville begged her more than once to plead his interests with the King. She complied with his request; but, immediately her audience with his Majesty was over, the Court saw her no more.

When, at the end of October, 1661, the new Queen, Maria Theresa, was nearing her confinement, etiquette required that Madame de Longueville should be present, and she accordingly passed some days at Fontainebleau.

* *Mémoires.*

In a letter to Madame de Sablé she relates how she lived at Court:

"FONTAINEBLEAU,
"31 *October*, 1661.

"It is rather a consolation for the fatigue that one experiences at Fontainebleau to reply to you than an additional fatigue, and nothing is more inaptly named than that; but, indeed, I need nothing less agreeable than the proofs of your remembrance of me to mitigate a little the chagrin that I experience here. I am not so incommoded as you imagine, since my brother has taken the room where I endured so much noise, and has given me his, where I have none at all. It is the only consolation of Fontainebleau for me: for the same very lofty situation which renders it free from noise, renders it so inaccessible to those persons who are not possessed with an intense desire to see me, that, since there are few of this disposition, I find myself in a somewhat solitary position there for the Court. I pass there a part of my life, for many reasons, and I see little of the Queen-Mother, except in the morning, or when I accompany her to the vespers before the Holy Sacrament, which is exposed, and will continue to be, until the Queen's delivery. There is no opportunity for any one who might be even more experienced than myself to ask anything, or to aspire to favours at a time like this. Justice is almost refused: how can one ask favours? When I see you, I will describe the Court to you; then I am sure that you will admit that it does not encourage one to do violence to one's feelings in order to exact benefits."*

It would appear to have been in the course of this autumn than an event took place in Madame de Longueville's life of great importance both to herself and to others; she became an ardent Jansenist and one of the most powerful protectors of Port-Royal.

In 1653, the influence of the Jesuits had obtained from Innocent X. a Bull condemning as heretical the Five Propositions contained in Jansenius's famous work *Augustinus*.† This Bull, confirmed three years later by

* Presumably, Madame de Sablé had requested Madame de Longueville to ask some favour for her from the King.

† Only one of the propositions was actually in the book: the others were "implied."

Alexander VII., in a new decree, was accepted by the great majority of the French clergy; and, in 1656, the General Assembly elaborated a profession of faith, which was to be signed by every ecclesiastic, and even by nuns, solemnly disavowing the doctrine of Jansenius.* The attacks of Pascal upon the Jesuits, and the miracles of which the monastery of Port-Royal was the scene, procured the Jansenists a respite of several years; but when, after the death of Mazarin, in March 1661, Louis XIV. began to reign in earnest, the "*Formulaire*" was again presented for signature. Most of the nuns of Port-Royal, and practically all the leaders of the party refused to subscribe to it, and at once the persecution, which had been foreshadowed the previous year by the dispersal of the schools of Port-Royal, was rigorously instituted. Those inmates of Port-Royal who had not yet taken the final vows were removed; some of the Sisters were sent to other convents; the monastery was placed under an interdict; Pavillon, Bishop of Alet, Henri Arnauld, Bishop of Angers—brother of Antoine and Angélique Arnauld—and the Bishops of Beauvais and Pamiers, who had declined to allow the "*Formulaire*" to be circulated in their dioceses, were suspended; while Sacy, Singlin, Du Fossé, Fontaine, and other prominent Jansenists had to go into hiding to escape arrest.

It is somewhat difficult to understand why Madame de Longueville, so intimately connected from childhood with the Carmelites—one of the most rigidly orthodox communities in the whole Catholic Church, who had accepted the "*Formulaire*" without the slightest hesitation—should have suddenly become enamoured of the doctrines of Jansenius, and, while yet barely recovered from the storms of the Fronde, should have gone out of her way to encounter others, and engage in a new war, almost as difficult as the first. The explanation, in Victor Cousin's opinion, is to be found in that generosity of character which rendered all tyranny odious to her, and invariably inclined her to the side of the oppressed. Port-Royal had for her all the attraction of a persecuted cause; the heroic

* It was in these words: "I submit myself entirely to the constitution of our Holy Father, Pope Innocent X., and I condemn with heart and mouth the doctrine of the Five Propositions of Cornelius Jansenius, contained in his book *Augustinus*, which the Pope and the Bishops have condemned, a doctrine which is not that of St. Augustine, which Jansenius has ill explained, and is contrary to the true meaning of that great doctor."

sacrifices of such men as the Abbé de Saint-Cyran, Antoine Arnauld, Sacy, Pascal, and Singlin; of such women as Angélique Arnauld (*la Grande Mère* Angélique), her sister Agnès, their niece Angélique de Saint-Jean, and their disciple Jacqueline Pascal, on behalf of what they held to be the truth, appealed to her with an irresistible force. It was the personal, far more than the theological, side of Jansenism which interested her; the genius, the heroism, the saintly lives, and the misfortunes of the nuns and "hermits," far more than the opinions for which they endured so much; though she accepted them for very much the same reason as she had accepted the political views of La Rochefoucauld in years gone by—because she was governed by her affections; and, as her former lover tells us in his *Mémoires*, she so transformed herself by entering into the sentiments of those who pleased her, that she no longer recognised her own.

To Madame de Sablé and Mlle. de Vertus, both zealous friends of the persecuted party, belonged the credit of this important accession to the ranks of its protectors. In the early spring of 1661, they appear to have introduced her to the saintly Mère Angélique. The latter, aware that her days were numbered—she died in the following August—and tortured with anxiety for the future of her beloved community, was deeply impressed by the kindness and sympathy of Madame de Longueville, as well as by the genuine piety which she showed, and wrote to Madame de Sablé that "all she had seen of this princess seemed to her of the finest gold."

Madame de Longueville's great wish now was to place herself under the guidance of Antoine Singlin, the celebrated confessor of Port-Royal. The princess had suffered much from the short-sightedness of the confessor she had chosen in Normandy; and the one to whom she was accustomed to have recourse when she was in Paris does not seem to have been much more enlightened. They did little for their penitent beyond prescribing for her constant and useless mortifications, and filling her mind with vain scruples, which had brought her almost to the verge of despair.

Singlin was not anxious to undertake the office. At the beginning of May, 1661, a *lettre de cachet* had been issued for his arrest, since which time he had been in hiding, and he was aware that his visits to the Hôtel de

Longueville must be attended by considerable risk of detection. However, Madame de Sablé and Mlle. de Vertus pleaded so hard for their friend, that the good man eventually allowed himself to be over-ruled, and, one day, having disguised himself in a short cloak and an enormous wig, he presented himself at the Hôtel de Longueville as a physician whom the princess desired to consult, which, as Fontaine observes in his *Mémoires*, was, in a sense, very true. The following letter of Mlle. de Vertus to Madame de Sablé shows what infinite precautions were taken to guard against his identity being discovered :

" You are entreated to arrange for your friend [Singlin] to come here to-morrow. He must come in a chair and send away his chairmen, and I will give him mine to take him wherever he wishes to go. He will be put in a room where no one will see him ; he will not be asked who he is. Thus, my good Madame, no difficulty need be apprehended. I ask only to know the precise hour, in order that I may get rid of any strangers who may happen to be with me. If he arrives in a chair, let him come straight into the courtyard. I am very anxious for this visit to take place, since this poor woman [Madame de Longueville] has no peace of mind. If I can see her in good hands, it will, I confess to you, be a great joy to me. I shall seem to be like those persons who see their friends provided for, and have nothing more to do than to rest."

The result of the interview between Madame de Longueville and the divine seems to have exceeded Mlle. de Vertus's fondest anticipations. " Your friend [Madame de Longueville] is so satisfied with the conversation, which lasted three hours, that she was no longer the same woman when I saw her again. I spent some moments with him [Singlin] ; but, since it was necessary for him to converse a long time with your friend, I did not wish to try his voice, and I mortified myself by leaving him, for he told me some admirable things."

And, in a subsequent letter, she writes :

" You will learn in more detail from Madame de Longueville how satisfied she is with the conversation of M. de Montigny [the name which Singlin had adopted] ; for she told me that she found in him the utmost kindness

and an admirable firmness, in a word, everything which is required in a true director."*

Under the wise direction of this excellent man, Madame de Longueville at last obtained that peace of mind for which she had so long craved in vain. "It is a long time," she writes, in the self-examination of which we have spoken elsewhere, "since I began to seek (so it seems to me) the way that leads to life; but I was always convinced that I had not reached it, without knowing exactly what was my obstacle. I felt that there was one between God and me, but I knew it not, and I felt that I was not really in my place, and I experienced a certain uneasiness at not being there, without, however, knowing where it was, or how to look for it. It seems to me, on the other hand, since I have placed myself under the guidance of M. Singlin, that I am really in that place which I sought —that is to say, at the true entrance to the path of Christian life, round which I had wandered until now."

Skilful physician of souls as he was, Singlin had been swift to detect the blemish in the character of his penitent: that pride, that love of distinction, that desire to play a great part in the world, which, artfully fostered by La Rochefoucauld, had been the source of all her errors. "The things which resulted from it [pride]," she continues, "were not unknown to me, but I considered only its effects, which indeed I judged to be great. Nevertheless, by all that has been revealed to me, I can see that I never went to that source: it was not that I was unaware that pride had been the starting-point of all my errors; but I did not imagine it to be as vital as it is, and yet I can now see that it was there that they all originated. My soul was divided between love of pleasure, and pride in the days of my criminal life; when I say pleasure, I mean that which appealed to my mind, for others do not naturally attract me; but these two miserable motives agreed so well together, that, during those miserable days, they were the guiding principle of my conduct. Having therefore taken this pleasure, which I sought after, in all that flattered my pride, and really proposed to myself what the Demon proposed to our first parents: 'Ye shall be as gods!' this saying, which was like an arrow which pierced

* *Portefeuilles de Valant*, Bibliothèque Nationale, published by Victor Cousin, *Madame de Sablé*.

their hearts, has so wounded mine, that from this profound wound the blood still flows, and will long continue to flow, if Jesus Christ, by His grace, does not arrest it."*

To overcome this desire for distinction was the task which her new confessor set himself. He recognised that it was still as ardent as ever, though the object of her ambition had changed, and that it was prompting her to go to the same extravagant lengths in devotion as she had formerly in political intrigue: in other words, that she desired to be, as it were, distinguished in piety. He accordingly sternly discountenanced all excessive austerities; advised her to make restitution wherever possible for the miseries her misguided ambition had brought upon so many innocent people, but to avoid useless brooding over what could not be remedied; to do her duty in her own sphere; to divide her time between reading and "working with her hands so far as she could for the poor;" and to give up all idea of retiring from the world, though she must practise detachment from it."†

Under Singlin's firm yet kindly guidance, Madame de Longueville seems to have found great peace of mind. Unfortunately, it soon failed her, for he died in April, 1664, worn out by his austerities. Père Sacy, Antoine Arnauld's nephew, succeeded him, and remained her confessor for two years, when one day, while on his way to the Hôtel de Longueville, he was arrested and carried off to the Bastille, which he did not leave until the Peace of the Church, in 1669.

It was well that Madame de Longueville had at last found a confessor to whom she was able to turn for counsel and support when in trouble, for her Christian fortitude was about to be put to a severe test.

After recovering from the wound which he had received in the engagement of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, La

* *Supplément au Nécrologe de Port-Royal.*

† M. Singlin, however, was very far from inclined to make the road to Heaven "*un chemin de velours*" for his penitent, as La Fontaine said of the Jesuits. Thus, Madame de Longueville tells us that, "lawful things were forbidden her, because of her self-abandonment to unlawful things"; that she was directed to repeat in her heart the seven Penitential Psalms at stated times; to apply to herself the words of our Lord to the Syro-Phœnician woman, and "to feel really and truly that she was unworthy of the smallest crumb of God's grace;" to say a *Miserere* every day prostrate on the ground, and to awake every morning at two o'clock for prayer and reflection.

Rochefoucauld seems for a time to have had some idea of following Condé to Flanders. He refused to accept the amnesty of October 21, 1652, and even went so far as to enter into negotiations with the Spaniards, with a view to taking service with them. But his disgust with the ill-success which had attended his rebellious enterprises finally prevailed over his loyalty to the leader of his party, and he made his submission, and was permitted to withdraw to his estates. Here he busied himself with repairing the breaches in the fortune which the civil wars had made, and beguiled his leisure by writing his *Mémoires*, in which work he expressed himself with the utmost freedom concerning every one against whom he had, or imagined he had, cause for complaint.

Through fear of incurring the displeasure of the King, and the resentment of the numerous highly-placed persons upon whom he had vented his rancour, La Rochefoucauld appears to have had no intention of allowing his *Mémoires* to be published till after his death, or at any rate, for many years, when the more elderly of the chief actors in the Fronde would have disappeared from the scene, and the episodes in which he had made his victims play so equivocal a rôle have become but vague memories. But, according to a then very common practice, he confided his manuscript to several literary friends, in order that they might make corrections in the style. One of these gentlemen, Arnauld d'Andilly—brother of Antoine Arnauld—was so indiscreet as to lend it to a friend who, unknown to him, made a copy of it; and, to the profound astonishment of the author, in the spring of 1662, his work was published at the Hague, and was soon circulating merrily over half Europe.

Its success was great; but the indignation it aroused was even greater. There was scarcely any one at Court who did not feel outraged, either in his own person or in that of some relative or intimate friend; for the disappointed intriguer had spared neither his enemies nor his allies: all alike came under the lash.* But it was Madame de Longueville who was the chief sufferer. The nature of

* Saint-Simon relates that his father, finding himself accused of having promised to declare for the party of the princes and then broken his word, was so infuriated that he rushed off to a neighbouring bookseller's shop, compelled him to hand over all copies of the obnoxious work in his possession, and, seizing a pen, wrote in each, against the passage which concerned him: "The author has lied about this."

her relations with the author was ruthlessly exposed; her character was mercilessly analysed; her conduct cruelly misrepresented; the extravagant devotion which Conti had once professed for her, and the jealousy he had shown on several occasions, were declared to be "more excusable in a lover than a brother;" and the worst construction was placed upon her relations with Nemours, for whose sake she was accused, not only of betraying her lover, but also the interests of Condé, to whom, the author says, he insinuated that, "if a similar fancy took her for another, she was capable of going to the same extremes, if he desired it." "He seeks to dishonour his former mistress," says M. Bourdeau, "and continues to justify in advance his *Maximes*. 'If one judges of love by its results, it resembles hatred rather than friendship.'"*

The despair of the unfortunate princess may be imagined. To be held up to public odium; to have all the errors of her past life raked up against her for the delectation of any one who cared to spend a few livres at a bookstall; to be degraded in the eyes of her husband, of her friends, and of her innocent children, at a time when she was doing her utmost to make atonement, by prayer, by fasting, by every kind of self-denial, was a crushing blow. And from whom did this blow come? From the man who had been the cause of her undoing, who had profited the most by her frailty! Never was there an outrage more unexpected or more revolting!

Madame de Longueville's friends, and, indeed, all fair-minded persons, were indignant, and Condé, of whom a by no means flattering portrait had been drawn in the book, was particularly exasperated. Much alarmed, La Rochefoucauld hastened to disavow this apocryphal edition, which was soon followed by many others. "Two-thirds of the book shown to me, and which is said to be in circulation under my name," he wrote, "are not by me, and I have no connection with it. The other third, which is near the end, is so altered and falsified in every part, and in the sense, the order, and the terms, that there is nothing in conformity with what I have written on that subject. That is why I disavow it, as a thing which has been forged by my enemies, or by the knavery of those

* *La Rochefoucauld.*

who sell all kinds of manuscripts under whatever names they please. Madame de Sablé, M. de Liancourt, and M. Esprit have seen what I have written for myself alone ; they know that it is entirely different from that which is in circulation, and that it contains nothing which is not as it should be, in what concerns *Monsieur le Prince*. M. de Liancourt has assured him of this, and he appeared persuaded of it. . . . The same thing must be said of what concerns Madame de Longueville."

This disavowal deceived no one, although, thanks to the growing favour of the duke's eldest son, the Prince de Marsillac, with the King, the aggrieved parties ultimately thought it wise to declare themselves satisfied. No doubt the much-discussed volume contained some pages which were not La Rochefoucauld's work, but the passages which concerned Madame de Longueville, and several others which aroused great resentment, were incontestably his, since not only does the excellence of the style betray his hand, but he alone could have possessed the necessary knowledge. Moreover, in the manuscript which served for the text of the edition of Petitot, and which is undoubtedly authentic, nearly all these passages are reproduced, with some corrections.*

Madame de Longueville would have been more than human had she not bitterly resented this cruel outrage, but her confessor bade her regard it as a severe but just punishment, and, after her first outburst of indignation, she suffered in silence. However, she appears to have declared her disbelief in the sincerity of La Rochefoucauld's denials, and we find the duke writing to Madame de Sablé to profess his astonishment that "a woman who gives every day proofs of such extraordinary piety could have preferred to complain of him with bitterness, and to accuse him of having composed a work which he had not written, rather than accept the explanation which she [Madame de Sablé] had given her." But, as Madame de Sablé had assured him that the poor woman had soon resigned herself to the situation, and that she had no intention of taking

* The most important differences between the disavowed edition and that of Petitot, so far as concerns Madame de Longueville, are the omission of the passage which describes her as so transforming herself into the sentiments of those who pleased her that she no longer recognized her own—which was a testimony to her disinterestedness and devotion—and the addition of several pages, in which the author relates, with rare effrontery, the sordid motives which prompted him to win her affection.

any steps against him,* he adds: "I should much like to ascertain, through some person who, like you, understands the intricacies of the heart, what are her true feelings towards me. I mean to say, if she has ceased to hate me owing to the influence of devotion, or through lassitude, or because she has learned that I never committed the wrong which she believed."†

Presumably, he thought that, by analysing this wounded heart, he might discover some valuable material for his *Maximes*.

In May, 1663, the Duc de Longueville, who had for some years past been in very indifferent health, died at Rouen. Since the marriage of his malicious daughter, Marie d'Orléans, with Henri de Savoie, Duc de Nemours, in 1657, he and his wife had lived very happily together, and his death seemed to have occasioned the latter genuine grief.

After her husband's death, Madame de Longueville resided more frequently in Paris, spending, as a rule, the whole of each winter there. She sold to the King the old Hôtel de Longueville, in the Rue des Poulies, the destruction of which was necessary to allow of the extension of the Louvre, and purchased an hôtel in the Rue Saint-Thomas-du-Louvre, which the Duc d'Épernon had recently acquired from Madame de Chevreuse, and which bore the name of the Hôtel de Longueville from 1664 to the end of the century. She had, also, like her mother before her, a lodging at the "*Grandes Carmélites*" to which she made frequent retreats; for, notwithstanding her adoption of Jansenist opinions, she had remained on the most affectionate terms with the good Sisters of the Rue Saint-Jacques, and, in particular, with its two great prioresses Marie de Lancri de Bains (Marie-Madeleine de Jésus) and Judith de Bellefonds (Mère Agnès de Jésus-Maria), as well

* Three years later, Madame de Longueville pardoned an even worse offence. Bussy-Rabutin having published his scandalous *Histoire amoureuse des Gaules*, in which he had slandered her and many other ladies of the Court in the most revolting manner, one of Condé's gentlemen, thinking to please his master, who was greatly exasperated by the attacks upon his sister and Madame de Châtillon, resolved to take a number of lackeys with him and administer a sound flogging to the author. Fortunately for the latter, Madame de Longueville, having learned what was intended, hastened to the Hôtel de Condé, and, with tears in her eyes, besought her brother to spare the delinquent.

† *Portefeuilles de Vallant*, published by M. Bourdeau, *La Rochefoucauld*.

as with Condé's old love, Marthe du Vigean, who, however, died in 1665.

Her residence in Paris enabled her to take an active part in the controversy which divided the Church, in which it is probable that she breathed a little of the bellicose intoxication of the years of the Fronde. Her hôtel, in fact, became the inner cabinet of the Jansenist party. It was here that the famous translation of the New Testament known as *le Nouveau Testament de Mons*, which did so much to turn public opinion in favour of Port-Royal, underwent its final revision.* It was here that she discussed with Gondrin, Archbishop of Sens, and other prelates the complicated negotiations which ultimately led to a settlement. And it was here that Arnauld and Nicole found an asylum for more than five years from their persecutors.†

Several amusing incidents relieved a little the long retreat of Arnauld and Nicole at the Hôtel de Longueville. Here is one of them :

One day, Arnauld had an attack of fever, upon which Madame de Longueville summoned a doctor named Brayer, bidding him take very particular care of a gentleman who had been staying for some time with her—for both Arnauld and his fellow divine, of course, preserved the strictest incognito, and had exchanged their clerical dress for the attire of persons of rank : plumed hats, wigs, swords, and so forth. Having felt his patient's pulse and duly prescribed for him—or more probably bled him—Brayer began discussing the news of the day, and, among other things, mentioned a new theological work which was causing a considerable stir, and which was generally ascribed to "*ces messieurs*" of Port-Royal. "Some people attribute it to M. Arnauld," said he, "others to M. de Sacy ; but I do not think it can be by the latter ; he does not write so well." "What!" cried Arnauld, entirely forgetting the part he had assumed ; "what do you say, Monsieur ? My nephew writes better than I do myself ?" Brayer left the room, laughing, and said to Madame de Longueville : "The gentleman's illness is nothing to worry about ; but

* It was the work of five persons : Sacy, Antoine Arnauld, Le Maître, Nicole, and the Duc de Luynes. The chief credit belonged to Sacy.

† At different times, the Abbé de Lalane, Fontaine, the author of the *Mémoires*, and several other prominent Jansenists were sheltered by Madame de Longueville, either at her hôtel in Paris or in one or other of her country residences.

I should advise you to take care that he does not see any one. He must not be allowed to talk."

Although Madame de Longueville had the most intense admiration for Arnauld's piety and genius, Nicole appears to have been more to her taste as a guest, for the great leader of the Jansenists had had but little experience of the usages of polite society. Both, however, must have tried her indulgence somewhat severely at times. In their evening conversations, Arnauld had a tendency to fall asleep, in an attitude more comfortable than becoming; while Nicole was subject to fits of absent-mindedness, in which he did strange things. One day, while attending Madame de Longueville's toilette, he so far forgot what was due to the princess as to throw, on entering the room, his hat, cane, and gloves upon her bed. Perhaps, however, as Sainte-Beuve observes, she accepted all this as part of her penance.*

The death of Alexander VII., who had been entirely governed by the Jesuits, gave Madame de Longueville an opportunity of which she was not slow to take advantage. The new pontiff, Clement IX., was a man of far more liberal views, who was sincerely desirous of reconciling all differences in the Catholic Church, in order that Christendom might present a united front to the aggressions of Mahommedanism. At the suggestion of the Archbishop of Sens and Mlle. de Vertus, she addressed, on July 27, 1667, a long letter to the Pope, in which she explained, with admirable clearness and moderation, the deplorable differences which divided the Church of France, and drew a moving picture of the piety, the heroism, and the miseries of the nuns of Port-Royal. She gives a clever definition of the Jansenist party: "What I can say truthfully, is that it is at once the greatest and the smallest party in the world, the strongest and the weakest." The smallest and the weakest, she goes on to explain, because "it is nominally composed of a dozen pious and able theologians who have been persecuted for twenty years:" the greatest and the strongest, because "almost all intelligent people in France, not only among the theologians, but also among the bishops," entertain the same opinions, though, from fear of persecution, they hesitate to declare themselves. She concludes by an eloquent appeal to Clement IX.'s well-

* Sainte-Beuve, *Portraits de Femmes: Madame de Longueville.*

known kindness of heart on behalf of the unfortunate Sisters of Port-Royal : " I conclude by the petition I have already made to your Holiness on behalf of these good nuns. I am willing to hope that the bowels of his paternal mercy will be moved, and that, regarding them with a compassionate eye as his very humble daughters, he will dry their tears and close their wounds. I entreat this of him, in the name of Him whom he represents on earth."

This letter was accompanied by another to Cardinal Azzolini, the Secretary of State, begging him to be the intercessor of Port-Royal with his Holiness.

Although Madame de Longueville had been guilty of considerable exaggeration when she informed the Pope that almost all intelligent people in France secretly held Jansenist opinions, the movement had undoubtedly made great progress during the past few years, particularly among the upper classes. This was, no doubt, partly attributable to that love of novelty, always so powerful in France ; Jansenism had, in fact, become the mode, just as, for a brief period, at the time of the Colloquy of Poissy, in 1562, Calvinism was the fashionable religion, and the ladies of the Court sang the Psalms of Marot and crowded to hear Beza preach ; and the example of Madame de Longueville, Madame de Sablé, Madame de Guéménée, and other leaders of society, found numerous imitators. Moreover, if a majority of the educated classes did not actually hold Jansenist opinions, the cruel persecution to which Port-Royal had been subjected had aroused widespread sympathy among them, and there was a considerable party among the clergy, who, while very far indeed from endorsing the views of Arnauld and Pavillon, favoured a compromise, from dread of the increasing power of the Jesuits.

Into the long and tortuous negotiations of the next twelve months we do not propose to enter. It will be sufficient to observe that it was largely owing to the exertions of Madame de Longueville that a settlement was at last concluded. The negotiations were carried on with the most profound secrecy. The letter of submission to the Pope, which was the basis of the peace, was drawn up, at the Hôtel de Longueville, by Arnauld and Nicole, in conjunction with the Archbishop of Sens, and Vialart, Bishop of Châlons, who acted as mediators, and signed by the former prelate on behalf of the four recalcitrant

bishops.* The text was communicated to Louvois's brother the Abbé Le Tellier, Colbert, and Lionne, all of whom favoured a settlement, and then to Louis XIV. and the Nuncio. The Nuncio signified his approval, and, early in October, peace was assured by a Bull of the Pope and an edict of the King. "I send to acquaint you," writes Madame de Longueville to Madame de Sablé, "that MM. de Sens and de Châlons yesterday conducted M. Arnauld to the Nuncio, who received him admirably well. MM. de Lalane and Nicole were also there. This is assuredly the seal of the peace. The matter is public."†

Not until the promulgation of the Bull and the King's edict did the Jesuits learn of the settlement that had been arrived at, and great was their wrath. Père Annat, Louis XIV.'s confessor, reproached the Nuncio with "having destroyed by a quarter of an hour's weakness the work of twenty years," and assured the King that it meant the ruin of both religion and the State. To which his Majesty coldly replied: "As to what concerns religion, that is the Pope's affair: if he is satisfied, you and I ought to be also. As to what concerns my State, I advise you not to trouble yourself about that. I shall know very well how to do what is necessary."‡

For some time, the nuns of Port-Royal firmly refused to accept the "*Formulaire*," notwithstanding the new conditions; but at length they yielded, though Jacqueline Pascal is said to have died of a broken heart because, at the bidding of her superiors, she had signed the obnoxious document, in spite of her conscientious objections. In February, 1669, the interdict under which Port-Royal had lain was raised, but the heroic recalcitrants were not allowed to return to their monastery, notwithstanding the efforts of Condé, who endeavoured to secure it for them, by hinting to Hardouin de Péréfixe, Archbishop of Paris, that his sister wished to retire to it altogether.§ They were compelled to migrate to Port-Royal-des-Champs, to which one half of the total revenues of the two monasteries was

* The bishops undertook to order the clergy and nuns in their respective dioceses to sign the "*Formulaire*," but to each signatory was reserved the right of having an explanation of why he, or she, signed taken down in writing.

† *Portefeuilles de Valant*, Bibliothèque Nationale, published by Victor Cousin, *Madame de Sablé*.

‡ M. Victor du Bled, *la Société française du XVIe siècle au XXe siècle : la Société et Port-Royal*.

§ Mrs. Cock, "Madame de Longueville."

allocated ; while some dozen Sisters of more orthodox views were installed in the Paris house, in the enjoyment of the remainder of the temporalities. Henceforth, the latter ceased to be, in any characteristic sense, Port-Royal ; and, towards the end of Louis XIV.'s reign, the discipline became so lax, that balls in the mother-superior's parlour were not unknown.*

The courage and ability displayed by Madame de Longueville in securing the Peace of the Church—it was a peace, unhappily, which terminated with her life—greatly enhanced the already high esteem in which, notwithstanding the calumnies of La Rochefoucauld and Bussy-Rabutin, she was now generally held. Louis XIV. praised her publicly, and to the end of her days treated her with the utmost consideration ;† indeed, there can be little doubt that the tranquillity which Port-Royal enjoyed so long as the princess lived was almost entirely due to the respect which he entertained for her. The members of the persecuted community which she had saved showered blessings upon her ; and its ingenuous historian Fontaine, in concluding his account of the long negotiations which paved the way for the peace of 1669, exclaims, in the effusion of his gratitude : " Render, O my God, a hundredfold to Thy servant all that she did for Thy glory, for the welfare of Thy Church, and for Thy most humble servants. She prepared herself for this great work by withdrawing into her house those who sustained Thy truth. She concealed under her wings those who were sought for everywhere ;

* The nuns complained to the Archbishop of Paris that their revenues were insufficient for their needs, and demanded that the temporalities of the two monasteries should be readjusted. To which the prelate replied : " It is unjust that Port-Royal-de-Paris should give balls, and that Port-Royal-des-Champs should pay for the music."

† Louis XIV. is said to have been greatly impressed in the lady's favour by the following incident. One day, Madame de Longueville, having failed to obtain some favour from the King for one of her *protegés*, was so mortified that she permitted some expressions to escape her " very indiscreet and but little respectful, to say no more." These, having been overheard, were duly reported to the King, who inquired of Condé whether his sister had really uttered the words attributed to her. *Monsieur le Prince* declared that it was impossible. " I will believe her, if she says so herself," rejoined the King. Thereupon, Condé hastened to the Hôtel de Longueville, and " strove for a whole afternoon to persuade his sister that, in such a circumstance, sincerity would be the height of folly." But Madame de Longueville refused to exonerate herself by a lie, and, having obtained an audience of the King, threw herself at his feet and implored his forgiveness. " And the King," adds the chronicler, " by an action still more heroic, not only willingly pardoned her, but bestowed on her some favours she did not expect to receive ; and she was inclined to believe that he treated her henceforth with more consideration and kindness than before."—Bourgoing de Villefore.

her name was as a buckler which parried all the darts which they endeavoured to launch against them. . . . Thou hast, without doubt, written the reward of this princess in Heaven, where I shall presently behold it, and Thou waitest for Thy great day to overwhelm her with the glory which she has justly merited for her good works. . . . She suffered in patience the insults of the proud. She knew the scornful things which were said of her, and people did not blush to call her the shame and the ignominy of the Royal Family. You will cause them to see that she was its ornament; and Saint-Louis, without doubt, will not blush for her in Heaven."*

CHAPTER XXVI

THE LAST YEARS OF MADAME DE LONGUEVILLE

THE pacification of the Church may be considered as the close of Madame de Longueville's public life. Henceforth she lived more and more in retirement, her religious duties and charities† occupying the greater part of her time, though she claims, in a letter to Condé, to have done her sons considerable service by her judicious management of the family estates.

Madame de Longueville was tenderly attached to her children, who, however, were anything but joys to her. Indeed, the anxiety and vexation she suffered on their account must have constituted a far more severe form of penance than any which she voluntarily underwent. Her eldest son, Jean Louis Charles d'Orléans, born in 1646, was feeble in both body and mind; and the Duc de Longueville, perceiving that he was unfitted to become a soldier—the Church and the Army were the only careers open in those days to the sons of the nobility—and still less fitted to succeed him in the government of Normandy,‡

* *Mémoires de Fontaine.*

† The sums she dispensed in charity were immense. She despatched agents into Champagne and other provinces into which she had carried civil war, to make reparation wherever possible for the losses which the population had suffered; and one severe winter she and the Princesse de Conti are said to have supported nearly all the poor of Berry.

‡ The Duc de Longueville had obtained the reversion of the government of Normandy for his sons, in recognition of his neutrality during the Fronde of the Princes.

and in the large estates of the House of Longueville, decided that it would be best for him to take Holy Orders and become a Jesuit, which would involve his renunciation of his inheritance in favour of his younger brother, the Comte de Saint-Paul. Madame de Longueville strongly opposed this step, and the Jesuits themselves advised delay; but the duke was firm, and the Comte de Dunois entered the Order as a novice.

On the death of the Duc de Longueville, in April, 1663, the Comte de Dunois, who was now in his eighteenth year, instead of continuing in the career which had been chosen for him, and which he appears to have hitherto accepted without demur, declared his intention to abandon it and take his place as his father's heir. Great was the consternation among his relatives at this announcement. Condé told his sister that it was her duty to insist upon this unfortunate lad, who, if he appeared at Court and in society, would bring nothing but discredit upon the family, remaining with the Jesuits, so that the dukedom and all its advantages might be transferred to the Comte de Saint-Paul, a handsome, quick-witted boy, who promised to make as good a figure in the great world as his brother did the reverse; and all her friends were of the same advice.

But Madame de Longueville, although she recognised the force of their arguments, refused to coerce her son. She sympathised deeply with him in his affliction, and still cherished the hope that, as he grew older, his mind would grow stronger. To compel him to enter Holy Orders, without even the pretence of a vocation, seemed to her an act of sacrilege, and, with her Jansenist prejudices, she had always strongly disapproved of his becoming a Jesuit. Finally, she was aware that the birth of her younger son, in 1649, in the midst of he *liaison* with La Rochefoucauld, had given rise to very unpleasant rumours—which many contemporary writers and several historians believe to have been but too well founded—and she was naturally extremely reluctant to sacrifice the acknowledged heir of the Duc de Longueville to one upon whose legitimacy the world looked with so much suspicion. She even declined to be a party to a proposal that he should surrender the principality of Neufchâtel to the Comte de Saint-Paul, and, in a letter to Madame de Sablé, expresses herself with an energy which certainly seems to add weight to the rumours mentioned:

"They demand for the Comte de Saint-Paul unjust and impracticable things, such as to arrange that my son should give him Neufchâtel. Consider if I can in honour and conscience propose such a thing to him, and even from the point of view of policy, after all that has been said about me. But all must perish, provided that the Comte de Saint-Paul reigns. He is now their idol; by the grace of God, he is not mine."

After long hesitation, she finally decided that the Comte de Dunois should leave the Jesuits and live with her, without being forced to choose between the Church and the Army, which latter profession Condé had insisted he should adopt, if he desired to renounce Holy Orders and assume his father's titles and offices. "My son does not wish to be a priest," she writes to *Monsieur le Prince*, on July 23, 1664, "and I will not force him to become one. He wishes to leave the Jesuits, but this intention does not make another man of him. Accordingly, he cannot make up his mind to go to the academy [that is to say, to be trained for the Army]; and I confess that, even if he did desire it, I should prefer him to die than to expose him to the world in his present condition, and, at the same time, to expose him to Madame his sister, who is a danger to him.* And in another letter she writes:

"CHÂTEAUDUN,
"*July* 29, 1664.

"It is certain that he (the Comte de Dunois) is as little competent to come to a decision now as if he were only six years old, for which reason, do not imagine that I could attach any importance to anything he might say in regard to the Church; for it would be perfectly monstrous to take him at his word, since he has no more devotion nor education than a new-born child. If he were to take Holy Orders, he would give them up six months later, and he would be the more enraged against us for having compelled him to take them. . . . As for the Army, nothing is easier than to propose to him all that you

* Marie d'Orléans, Duchesse de Nemours. The dislike with which this lady had always regarded her step-mother seems to have increased rather than diminished as years went by; and, from the latter's letters, it is evident that Madame de Nemours was doing her utmost to injure her. Madame de Longueville feared that, if the Comte de Dunois were to leave her protection, his half-sister would succeed in obtaining influence over his feeble and credulous mind, and use it to turn him against his mother.

desire ; but he has neither sufficient strength of mind nor enough courage to render him fitted for that profession. . . . As for the proposition to give his property to the Comte de Saint-Paul, permit me to tell you that that will be practicable when he is twenty-five years of age, for earlier it will not hold good, and it is certain that he will make every imaginable objection. He has been told so many times that we desire to promote his brother at his expense, that it would be to give him a proof of it, were we to despoil him before he is of age, before we are convinced that there will be no alteration in him—that is to say, that it is impossible for him to become an ordinary man. To conclude, for this reason, I will never consent to it while I live. . . . In God's name, let us exercise a little patience. If there is an alteration in him, so much the better for us ; if there is no alteration, we shall be in a position to propose to him, when the time comes, everything that we shall judge to be for the best. . . ."*

Thus valiantly did Madame de Longueville espouse the cause of her unfortunate elder son ; and everything that her loving care and tenderness could devise was done for him. At times there seems to have been a ray of hope. "That poor elder son of mine," she writes to Madame de Sablé, "has become as docile as a sheep, in regard to all my wishes. He has certainly a fund of good sense, but that is confined to trivial matters." And again : "My son is making progress in his studies ; his tutor is satisfied with him. He says that this shapeless lump will expand." But, in the end, all her efforts proved fruitless ; and, one day, the Comte de Dunois escaped from his mother's house and fled to Rome, where he re-entered the Jesuits, and, in 1669, took priest's Orders, which permitted his younger brother to succeed to the dukedom and the family estates. Three years later, the mind of the Abbé d'Orléans, as he was now called, gave way altogether, and he remained insane, though with occasional lucid intervals, until his death, in 1694.

Charles Paris d'Orléans, Comte de Saint-Paul, who thus became Duc de Longueville, possessed all the advantages which his brother lacked. Nevertheless, for some years, he

* *Portefeuilles de Valant*, published by Victor Cousin, *Madame de Sablé*.

was a source of great trouble and anxiety to his mother. Spoiled from his childhood by every one, he grew up a vain, self-willed, pleasure-loving lad, while his apparent want of affection for her caused Madame de Longueville the deepest grief. He neglected her sadly; and, when she was absent from Paris, it was seldom that he condescended to pay her even the shortest of visits, and then usually only as the result of a remonstrance from Madame de Sablé, to whom he was much attached. When in his mother's presence, too, he was cold and ill at ease; and the poor woman seems to have attributed his indifference to the fact that the story of her former relations with La Rochefoucauld, and the scandal concerning his birth, had reached his ears.

Madame de Longueville did not complain to her son; but to Madame de Sablé she reveals all the bitterness of her heart:

"COULOMMIERS,
"17 *November*, 1666.

"The Comte de Saint-Paul arrived yesterday evening. Nothing can equal his coldness towards me. He did not attempt to justify his neglect. It is an incredible embarrassment for him to find something to say to me; nor, after great efforts, does he find anything, save matters so trivial, that they might be said just as well to his lackey as to myself. He appears to be intensely bored when in my company. . . . In short, it is an alteration which would astonish me much, if I had not foreseen it for a long while. He issues orders about everything without consulting me, and I am persuaded that soon he will be very pleased to be the master. . . . It is very hard to receive such treatment from the Comte de Saint-Paul. All that God ordains is just; but, however submissive I may be to His will, I confess that I am anxious to be far away from them all,* and to deliver them and myself, also, from the embarrassments which result from my being obliged to meddle with their affairs."

After completing his education, the Comte de Saint-Paul entered the Army. He served with some distinction in Flanders in 1667, and in Franche-Comté, under his uncle Condé, in the following year. In 1669, he joined,

* Her two sons and their relatives.

with a number of other young nobles, the expedition to Candia, where he displayed conspicuous ability, as well as the most dauntless courage, and gained the esteem and affection of all his comrades. "There was not seen a man so beloved, so esteemed, so applauded among these youths, so well informed in all matters, and with so great a reputation for valour."* On his return to Paris, his brilliant reputation and his handsome face made him the idol of the ladies, a position which seems to have been only too much to his taste, for Madame de Longueville writes to Madame de Sablé that her son was "spoiling during the winter what he had accomplished during the summer."

After his succession to the family title, the indifference which the young man had hitherto shown towards his mother, and which was, no doubt, partly attributable to the firm refusal of the latter to allow his elder brother to be sacrificed to him, was no longer so marked; and ultimately he appears to have reciprocated, to some extent at least, the tender affection which she lavished upon him. In other respects, however, his conduct caused her the deepest distress. He led a very irregular life, and, among other intrigues, engaged in one with "a woman of quality whose husband was living,"† by whom he had a son, Charles Louis d'Orléans, Chevalier de Longueville, to whom we shall have occasion to refer again.

Madame de Longueville decided that an early marriage was much to be desired for her son, and accordingly began to look about for a suitable wife, who might wean him from the temptations which surrounded him, and ensure the continuance of his race. She cast her eyes upon *Mademoiselle*; but that lady was far too much occupied with her secret passion for Lauzun to entertain the proposal. Notwithstanding the great disparity in age, Madame de Longueville appears to have been exceedingly anxious for this match, for, after the disgrace of the aspiring Lauzun, she returned to the charge. But *Mademoiselle*, faithful to her imprisoned lover, again declined the honour.

A brilliant prospect, however, now opened before the young duke.

When, in 1669, John Casimir, King of Poland, abdicated his elective throne, a strong party in the Diet desired

* Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*. † The wife of the Maréchal de la Ferté-Senneterre.

to offer the vacant crown to the Prince de Condé; and their wishes would probably have prevailed, had not Louis XIV. feared that the elevation of a French prince might alarm the Northern Powers, and interfere with his designs on Flanders and Holland. "My cousin," said he, "think no more, I pray you, of the Crown of Poland; the interest of my State is concerned in it." Condé obeyed, though not without reluctance, and the choice of the Diet fell upon Michael Wisniowiecki. This feeble personage having quickly proved his utter incapacity for grappling with the difficulties that beset his throne, Condé's friends in Poland again addressed themselves to him. The prince declined the crown for himself, but offered them his nephew, the young Duc de Longueville, whom they accepted with enthusaism. Madame de Longueville, intensely ambitious for her beloved son, took upon herself the task of obtaining the King's consent; and this time Louis XIV., although he appears to have viewed the project with some disapproval, did not oppose the elevation of the Condés. "I am very anxious not to delay any longer in acquainting you," writes the proud mother to Madame de Sablé, "that the King received me as I could desire, and that he gave his consent to my proposition, as one might expect from his justice."

But alas! Charles d'Orléans was never to wear the uneasy crown of the Jagellons. While awaiting his summons to Poland, where, in the spring of 1672, John Sobieski declared in his favour and carried the Diet with him, he accompanied Louis XIV. on his invasion of Holland. On June 12, when the much-vaunted Passage of the Rhine took place, the duke crossed the river in a boat, in company with Condé and the Duc d'Enghien; while their horses and some mounted gentlemen of *Monsieur le Prince's* suite swam after them. On reaching the bank, they perceived a detachment of Dutch infantry, whose retreat had been cut off, entrenching themselves behind hedges and barricades. Springing on his horse, Longueville, followed by the Duc d'Enghien and some other impetuous young men, galloped furiously towards them; and Condé called to them in vain to return. The Dutch cried out that they desired to surrender, and some of them even laid down their arms; but Longueville, either unable or unwilling to understand them, and believing that he had found a spot where the barricade might be

forced, drove his horse at it, firing his pistol and crying to his followers: "Kill! Kill, and give no quarter!" The enemy replied with a volley, and the duke fell dead from his saddle, pierced by five musket-balls. Condé, who, on seeing his nephew fall, rode at full speed to the spot, had his left wrist broken by a pistol-shot from a Dutch officer.*

The body of the ill-fated young man, covered by a cloak, was carried to a fisherman's hut, where Condé himself had proceeded, so soon as his wound had been attended to. Great as was the pain he suffered, it appears to have troubled him little, in comparison with the irreparable loss which his sister and all the family had sustained; and his grief was increased, when, that same evening, he was visited by envoys from Poland, who had crossed Germany to make the Duc de Longueville a formal offer of the crown, and to conduct him to Danzig, where the grandees of the kingdom awaited him. "They came to seek a king; and found only a corpse."

Madame de Sévigné, who had been herself a prey to great anxiety for the safety of her only son, who was also with the army, has described for us, in her letters to Madame de Grignan, the grief of the heartbroken mother when the fatal tidings reached her:

"PARIS,
"*June* 20, 1672.

"The condition of Madame de Longueville is, they say, heartrending. I have not seen her, but this is what I know. Mlle. de Vertus had returned two days before to Port-Royal, where she spends nearly all her time. She was sent for, together with M. Arnauld, to impart this terrible news. Mlle. de Vertus had only to show herself; a return so sudden portended something fatal. In fact, as soon as she appeared: 'Ah! Mademoiselle, how is Monsieur my brother [Condé]?' Her thoughts dared travel no further. 'Madame, his wound is getting on well.' 'There has, then, been a fight? And my son?' They made no reply. 'Ah! Mademoiselle, my son, my dear child; answer me, is he dead?' 'Madame, I have no words to answer you.' 'Ah! my dear son, did he die on the spot? Had he not a single moment? Ah, *mon Dieu!* What a sacrifice!' And thereupon she fell on her bed, and in

* Pellisson, *Lettres historiques*. Duc d'Aumale, *Histoire des Princes de Condé*.

every way that the most lively grief can manifest itself —in convulsions, in swoonings, in deadly silence, in stifled cries, in bitter tears, in appeals to Heaven, in tender and pitiful lamentations—she experienced them all. She sees certain people ; she takes some broth, because it is the will of God. She has no repose ; her health, always so bad, is visibly affected. As for me, I wish that she may die, since I cannot understand how she can live after such a loss."

And, a week later, she writes again :

" PARIS,
" *June* 27, 1672.

" At last I have seen Madame de Longueville, and chance placed me near her bed. She made me come closer to her still, and spoke to me first, for, as for me, I knew not what to say at such a moment. She told me that she did not doubt that I pitied her ; that nothing was wanting in her calamity. She spoke of Madame de la Fayette and M. d'Hacqueville as of those who had the most compassion for her. She spoke of my son, and of the affection her son had entertained for him. I do not tell you what my answers were ; they were as they should be ; and, in good faith, I was so moved, that I could not speak amiss."

Madame de Longueville's only consolation in her overwhelming sorrow—though that must have been no inconsiderable one—was her discovery that, before setting out for his last campaign, her son had been secretly converted and that he had made a general confession to a Jansenist priest, and distributed immense sums in charity. This happy persuasion* gave her strength to reply to some of the letters of condolence which had reached her. Here is one addressed to the Abbé de Saint-Cyran :

" PORT-ROYAL,
" 24 *July* [1672].

" I know too well your kindness to be in doubt as to your feelings in the sad circumstances which have obliged you to write to me ; and I am persuaded that you have asked

* Sainte-Beuve appears to be somewhat sceptical about the truth of this report : " *Ce fut une sorte de douceur dernière et bien permise*," he remarks. It seems highly improbable, however, that an austere Jansenist priest would have invented such a story, even out of consideration for Madame de Longueville.

God to subdue me entirely to His will, however hard it has seemed to my nature. Yet I see clearly that it is full of mercy, and that I only deserved that God should break my worldly ties, since they were more dear to me than I myself believed, which is proved by the grief which the loss of him whom He has taken from me occasions me. It appears, by the inclinations which he [her son] evinced before his departure for the army, that He has regarded him in His mercy as well as myself, added to which he has terminated his life, not only at its beginning, but also at the moment when he was about to be elevated in a manner so extraordinary, that it was much to be feared that the love of the world would take possession of his heart and fill it entirely. I presume that you are aware that he was on the eve of becoming King of Poland. If God, in depriving him of his life and the hope of a crown, has had mercy upon him, He has given him more than He has taken away. Thus, it only remains to adore His will towards both my son and myself; it is just, as is everything which emanates from the dispositions of His providence. I entreat you to ask for me an entire submission to all His desires, and an inward detachment from the world, corresponding to that which He affects outwardly by the overthrow of my family. Your kindness will not refuse me this favour, and so much the more, since no one can reverence your virtue and merit more sincerely than I do.

"ANNE DE BOURBON.

"I ask your prayers for the repose of my son's soul, and for the needs of Monsieur my brother, as well as for those of my nephews, the Princes de Conti."*

By his will, Longueville left a considerable part of his fortune to his natural son, Charles Louis d'Orléans, already mentioned; and, at the same time, requested his mother to use her influence with the King to obtain the legitimation of the boy, in order that he might be capable of benefiting by the bequest. As the document in question contained no mention of Madame de la Ferté, or of any other lady, and no precedent existed for issuing letters of legitimation in which the mother was not named, Madame de Longueville probably anticipated serious difficulty in carrying out her dead son's wishes. But, to her relief, Louis XIV.

* Published by Victor Cousin, *Madame de Sablé*.

raised no objection whatever, the fact being that he himself had been, for some time past, very desirous of legitimating his own children by Madame de Montespan, *without naming the mother*,* but shrank from creating a precedent for his own convenience; and nothing, in consequence, could have been more opportune for him than Madame de Longueville's petition. No one could accuse him of any ulterior motive in granting the last request of a gallant soldier, a Prince of the Blood, cut off in the flower of his youth, in the service of his King and country; and no one could blame him if he chose to follow what would henceforth no doubt be a common practice. Accordingly, on September 7, 1673, letters-patent were issued legitimating Longueville's son, under the name of the Chevalier d'Orléans, *without naming the mother*, and duly ratified by the Parlement. Three months later (December 20, 1673), the gentlemen of the long robe were called upon to register a similar document, in which his Majesty declared that "the affection with which Nature inspired him for his children, and many other reasons, which served to augment considerably these sentiments, compelled him to recognise Louis Auguste, Louis César, and Louise Françoise."

The first was styled Duc du Maine; the second, Comte de Vexin; and the third, Demoiselle de Nantes.

The Chevalier d'Orléans entered the Army, and had already given proof of inheriting his father's valour, when his career was cut short at the siege of Philippsburg, in 1688.

After the tragic death of her son, Madame de Longueville withdrew almost entirely from the world. She quitted her hôtel in the Rue Saint-Thomas-du-Louvre, and built herself a little house at Port-Royal-des-Champs, between which and her apartment at the "*Grandes Carmélites*"†

* This was not from any motive of delicacy, but because, as Madame de Montespan's husband had never repudiated these children, they were, in the eyes of the law, his, and therefore legitimate already; and to have named the mother would have been to reduce the affair to a farce. On the other hand, Louis was intensely anxious to have the children recognised as his own, since he had reason to believe that the Marquis de Montespan, by way of revenge upon his Majesty and his faithless wife, contemplated appealing to the courts to have the children delivered up to him, which would have resulted in a terrible scandal.

† Her apartment at the Carmelites was as comfortless as those of the nuns themselves, and she lived practically the same austere life as they. "The Maréchale d'Humières," writes Bourgoing de Villefore, "who, after the death of the princess, occupied her lodging at the convent, said many times to her friends, pointing to the floor: 'This is where Madame de Longueville used to sleep on the bare ground, for in those days there were no boards laid down.'"

she henceforth divided her time. She was at the Carmelites when Louise de la Vallière took the veil, and Bossuet preached that moving sermon from the text: "Behold, I make all things new;" and it was here, a little later, that she saw arrive the heart of the great Turenne—"that heart which alas! she had once troubled."*

"The true crown of Madame de Longueville in these years," observes Sainte-Beuve, "that which one ought the more to revere, inasmuch as she did not perceive it, and covered it, as it were, with both hands, is the crown of humility. That is her Christian glory, which her inevitable failings ought not to obscure. Many touching instances of this are reported. She had enemies, those who envied her: remarks hurtful, or even insulting, reached her. She endured all, and she said to God: 'Strike again!' One day, while going in a chair from the Carmelites to Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas, she was approached by an officer, who demanded of her some favour or other. She replied that she was unable to grant it, whereupon this man lost his temper, and indulged in the most insolent language.† Her people would have thrown themselves upon him. 'Stop!' cried she to them; 'do him no harm. I have deserved far worse.'"

Towards the end of her life, Madame de Longueville suffered much from ill-health, a circumstance no doubt, in great part, attributable to the excessive asceticism to which she always inclined, and which the confessor who had succeeded Sacy seems to have been quite incapable of restraining. Scarcely any trace of that dazzling beauty which had captivated so many hearts now remained to her; "her figure alone had preserved its grace."‡ She died on April 15, 1679, in her sixtieth year, "of a fever, which had been preceded by a very great lassitude lasting more than a year. It would have been impossible to die with greater sentiments of humility and more perfect trust in God."§ Condé was with her at the last.

By a clause in her will, Madame de Longueville had

* Sainte-Beuve, *Portraits de Femmes*. Turenne was killed by a cannon-shot, at Salzbach, in July, 1675. His heart was bequeathed to the Carmelites.

† "*Il haussa la voix et lui fit de longs reproches sur le passé dans les termes les plus insolens.*"—Bourgoing de Villefore.

‡ *Nouvelles Lettres de Madame, Duchesse d'Orléans.*

§ Letter of Antoine Arnauld to the Landgrave of Hesse-Rhinfels, April 19, 1683, published by Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal.*

directed that her body should be interred in the church of whichever of the two monasteries she happened to be residing in at the time of her death, and that her heart should be conveyed to the other. "God permitted," says the *Nécrologe de Port-Royal*, "that she should expire at the Carmelites, who have to be the guardians of her body, and we have the honour of possessing her heart, which has been wholly occupied with the love of God and with that of the Church."

A month after her death, the Archbishop of Paris, Harlay de Chanvalon, proceeded in person to Port-Royal-des-Champs, to communicate to the nuns an order from the King to send away their pensioners and postulants, and to forbid them to receive any in future. "They had only waited for the death of the princess," says Sainte-Beuve, "to begin the final blockade from which the celebrated monastery was to succumb. The Palladium was no longer in Troy."

The funeral oration of Madame de Longueville was preached, a year after her death, not alas! by Bossuet—the princess's unorthodox theological views prevented this—but by Roquette, the mediocre Bishop of Autun, who was supposed to have been no stranger to the idea of Tartuffe, and was commonly believed to purchase his sermons. As some slight compensation for the loss of what could hardly have failed to be a masterpiece of pulpit oratory, we have several appreciations of the princess by Jansenist writers. Here is one, contained in two letters from the Marquis de Pontchâteau, one of the sternest of the Port-Royal "hermits," to his sister, the Duchesse d'Épernon, which Sainte-Beuve regards as "the most sincere and the most unanswerable testimony," and with which we may appropriately conclude our account of this remarkable woman's career:

"So Madame de Longueville has started for that long journey into Eternity from which no one returns. Death of this kind, deaths of persons of high rank in the world, and, above all, when we have lived in some intimacy with those who are gone, impress us for a short time; but the impression soon passes, and we do not try to keep it. However, for a little while, nothing else will be talked about. I believe that she is among the blessed, and that God will have shown her His mercy. She greatly loved His Church

and the poor, which are the two objects of our charity on earth. . . ."

And, in the second letter, he writes:

"I do not like exaggeration, but it must be confessed that there was much that was extraordinary in the penance of Madame de Longueville, for it is certain that, at the beginning of her penance, it was a very common practice for her to sleep on the bare ground, to use a scourge, and to wear an iron girdle; and, as regards the mind, I know what few persons are aware of, and it was very humiliating for a person like her. It is not that I want to make her pass for a saint who has gone straight from this world to enjoy the presence of God; all that passes in another world is hidden from us. But it is true that we shall see few people of her quality take up a life like hers, and remain steadfast to the end in the great truths of religion, in absolute disregard of self, which she showed even in her dress, and in an uniformity in respect to her essential duties, such as she always displayed. She had faults; who is without them? She saw and mourned over them; that is all God requires of us."

THE END

INDEX

Aiguillon, Duchesse d', 29, 44, 58, 59, 111, 123, 136, 190, 192
Ailly, Abbé d', 351
Albret, Henri Jules de Bourbon, Duc d' : *see* Enghien
Alexander VII., Fabio Chigi, Pope, 360
Amsterdam, Madame de Longueville's visit to, 98, 99
Ancre, Concino Concini, Maréchal d', 79, 142, 162
Angennes, Angélique d', 30, 34
— Julie d' : *see* Montausier
Anjou, Philippe, Duc d', 149, 320
Annat, Père (confessor of Louis XIV.), 372
Anne of Austria, Queen of France, presents the relics of a saint to the Carmelites, 19 ; anecdote of her and Voiture, 32 note ; becomes regent, 63 ; favours Beaufort, 66 ; recalls Mesdames de Chevreuse and de Hautefort, 68 ; orders Madame de Montbazon to apologize for calumniating Madame de Longueville, 76 ; exiles her, 78, 79 ; abandons the "Importants," 80 ; exiles Mlle. de Hautefort, 80 ; her heart completely won by Mazarin, 106 ; her treatment of La Rochefoucauld, 111, 112 ; permits the assembly of the courts in the Chambre de Saint-Louis, 120 ; resolved to maintain the authority of her son, 127 ; orders the arrest of Broussel and Blancmesnil, 129 and note ; breaks her word to Retz, 131, 132 ; her conduct on the "Day of the Barricades," 133, 134 ; removes with the King to Rueil, 136, 137 ; calls Condé her "*troisième fils*," 139 ; signs Declaration of Saint-Germain, 142 ; her duplicity, 142–144 ; her flight with the Court to Saint-Germain, 149, 150 ; distrusts Condé's loyalty, 154 ; interview with Madame de Longueville after the Peace of Rueil, 170, 171 ; libelled by Retz's hired scribes, 174 ; returns to Paris, 176 ; hostile to Madame de Longueville, 177 ; withdraws the *tabourets* granted to Mesdames de la Rochefoucauld and de Pons, 185 ; publicly rebukes the presumption of Jarzé, 190 ; indignant at the Duc de Richelieu's marriage, 192 ; has nocturnal conferences with Retz, 192 ; conduct on the night of arrest of the princes, 194–196 ; resolves to arrest Madame de Longueville, 197, 198 ; goes to Normandy, 206, 207 ; orders Madame de Longueville to leave Dieppe, 207 ; sends Du Plessis-Bellière to arrest her, 207, 208 ; causes her to be declared guilty of high treason, 218 ; opposed to Retz's elevation to the cardinalate, 226 ; compelled to consent to Mazarin's dismissal and exile, 246 ; virtually a prisoner in the Palais-Royal, 248 ; maintains an active correspondence with Mazarin, 252 ; proposal to deprive her of the regency, 252, 253 ; refuses to convene the States-General during the King's minority, 253, 254 ; recalls Chavigny and dismisses Châteauneuf, 255 ; negotiating with both parties, 265 ; confers with Retz, 274, 275 ; accused by the coadjutor of meditating the assassination of Condé, 276, 277 ; assures Condé that she has no designs against his person, 279 ; dismisses Le Tellier, Servien, and Lionne on the prince's demand, 284 ; concludes alliance with the Old Fronde, 286 ; launches a declaration against Condé, 287 ; withdraws her charges, 289 ; declares that "*Monsieur le Prince* or she must perish," 290 ; her proposals to Condé, 293 and note ; goes to Berry, 295 ; her joy at the return of Mazarin from Brühl, 303 ; returns to Paris, 319, 320
Arnauld, Agnès, 361
— Angélique, "*la Grande Mère* Angélique," 361
— Angélique de St. Jean, 361
— Antoine, 351, 361, 369 and note, 370, 371, 381
— Henri, Bishop of Angers, 360
— d'Andilly, 365
— de Corberville, 30, 244
Augustinus, the, of Cornelius Jansenius, 359, 360 note
Aumale, Henri Eugène Philippe d'Orléans, Duc d' (cited), 14, 103, 164, 165, 173 note, 260, 273, 289, 301 note, 317 note
Avaux, Comte d', 91, 96, 97, 98, 100, 101
Azzolini, Cardinal, 371

Balthazar, Colonel, 302, 324
Balzac, 31 note
Barine, Arvède (cited), 27
Barrière (agent of Condé in England), 331
Bartet (agent of Mazarin), 274
Bastille, the, 18, 316, 364

Bazin (cited), 141
Beaufort, Duc de, 55, 66, 68, 75, 79, 80, 120, 122, 155, 167, 173, 175, 176, 179, 182, 186, 187, 188, 189, 192, 197, 218, 240, 244, 304, 305 and note, 308, 309, 317, 318, 320
Beaujeu, Madame de, 181
Beauvais, Bishop of, 66, 67, 80
Bellefonds, Judith de, 220, 221, 230, 368
Bellièvre, Président de, 180
Benserade, 41
Bercenay (captain of La Rochefoucauld's guards), 307, 315
Berthod, Père, his conspiracy at Bordeaux, 333–335
Bérulle, Cardinal de, 17
Beuvron, Marquis de, 193, 199, 201
Blancmesnil, Président, 129
Boileau, 35, 40, 42
Bois-Robert, 32, 34, 44
Bossuet, 385 ; (cited) 349
Bouillon, Duc de, 156, 192, 219, 220, 221, 223, 224, 270, 279, 280, 291, 300, 309
— Éléonore de Fébronie de Bergh, Duchesse de, 156, 157, 158, 258
— Marianne Mancini, Duchesse de, 45, 283
Bourdeau, M. (cited), 108, 130, 316 note, 366
Bourges, Jesuit college at, 14, 15
Bourgoing de Villefore (cited), 16, 24, 43, 55, 210, 342, 373 note, 384 note, 385 note
Brégy, Madame de, 350, 351 and note
Brézé, Armand de Maillé, Duc de, 51, 124, 178
— Maréchal de, 51
Bridieu, Marquis de, 85, 86
Brienne, Comte de, 48, 194, 198
— Comtesse de, 48, 230
— Marie Antoinette de : *see* Gamaches, Marquise de
Broussel (counsellor of the Parlement), 129, 133, 137, 146, 148, 187, 287, 320
Bus, César de, 17
Bussy-Rabutin, 30, 368 note, 373 ; (cited) 137

Calvimont, Madame de (mistress of the Prince de Conti), 323 note, 339
Candale, Duc de, 324, 325, 340
Carmelites of the "*Grand Couvent*" in Paris, 18–20, 22, 23, 25, 220, 221, 358, 368, 384, 385, 386
Carnets, Mazarin's, 68, 92, 141, 143
Castelnaudary, Battle of, 21
Catalonia, Condé's campaign in, 125
Caumartin, 244 note, 261 note
Chalais, 124, 277
Chamboy, Marquis de, 206, 208
Chambre de Saint-Louis, union of the courts in, 119, 120, 126, 127
Chantilly, Château of, 22, 34, 44–49, 92, 175, 177, 218, 272
Chapeau Rouge, the, at Bordeaux, 327, 328
Chapelain, 31, 42, 43
Charenton, engagement at, 160, 161
Charles IV., Duc de Lorraine, 83, 313, 314, 319
— IX., King of France, 57
Charpy (poet), 48
Châteauneuf, Marquis de, 68, 80, 138, 144, 252, 255, 261, 262, 286, 287, 295, 302, 303
Châtillon, Duc de, 47, 160, 161, 229
— Duchesse de, 45, 48, 50, 160, 161, 219 229, 266, 292, 308, 311, 312
Chavigny, Marquis de, 138, 255, 256
Chéruel, Adolphe (cited), 120, 127, 273
Chevalier (advocate at Bordeaux), hanged by the *Ormée*, 335
Chevaroche, fights duel with Voiture, 34
Chevreuse, Duc de, 189 note
— Duchesse de, 68, 76, 77, 78, 79, 109, 111, 122, 174, 175, 188, 189 and note, 226, 248, 252, 257–264, 274, 275, 276, 277, 286, 304, 314
— Mlle. de, 189 and note, 238, 252, 257–264, 286, 287, 304 note, 315, 322
Chigi, Cardinal Fabio : *see* Alexander VII., Pope
Cinq-Mars, 63, 85
Clanlau, Bertrand de, 160
Clement IX., Pope, 370, 371, 372
Colbert, 43, 372
Coligny, Maurice, Comte de, 47, 61–63, 72, 83, 84, 85–88
Comminges, Comte de (captain of Anne of Austria's guards), 129 and note
Concini, Concino : *see* Ancre, Maréchal d'
Condé, Charlotte de la Trémoille, Princesse de, 9 and note
— Charlotte Marguerite de Montmorency, Princesse de (mother of Madame de Longueville), 9 and note, 10, 11, 12 ; her relations with her husband, 10 ; shares his imprisonment, 10, 11 ; gives birth to Anne Geneviève de Bourbon, 12 ; liberated, 12 ; her character, 18 ; her "retreats" at the Carmelites, 19 ; refuses to allow her daughter to enter the Carmelites, 23 ; orders her to attend a State ball, 24 ; her salon at the Hôtel de Condé, 34, 35 ; her visits to Rueil, 44 ; her life at Chantilly, 44, 45 ; insists upon a public apology from Madame de Montbazon for calumniating her daughter, 73–77 ; supports Enghien's endeavours to procure the dissolution of his marriage, 81, 82 ; d'Avaux's letter to her from Münster, 102 ; refuses to join the opposition to the Court, 122 ; demands a

Condé, Charlotte Marguerite de Montmorency, Princesse de—continued
cardinal's hat for Conti, 144, 145; accompanies the Court on its flight to Saint-Germain, 150; in despair at the escape of Longueville and Conti, 153, 154; gained over by Madame de Longueville to her political views, 174; exiled to Chantilly, 198; presents a petition to the Parlement in favour of the imprisoned princes, 218; dominated by Madame de Châtillon, 229; her death, 229
Condé, Claire Clémence de Maillé-Brézé, Princesse de, 51–53, 58, 59, 80–82, 199, 219, 220, 221, 224, 279, 283, 293, 321, 327–329
— Henri I. de Bourbon, Prince de, 9 note
— Henri II. de Bourbon, Prince de (father of Madame de Longueville), birth, 9; his return to France, 10; reconciled to his wife, 10; his turbulent conduct during the regency, 10; arrested, 10; imprisoned in the Bastille, 10; joined by his wife, 10; removed to Vincennes, 11; falls dangerously ill, 11; released, 12; his care of the education of his son, the Duc d'Enghien, 13–16; indignant at his daughter's desire to enter the Carmelites, 23; his servility towards Richelieu, 44; betrothes Enghien to a niece of the Cardinal, 50, 51; contests Richelieu's will against the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, 58–60; distrusted by Mazarin, 68, 69; prevents Enghien from procuring the dissolution of his marriage, 82; his death, 102; his character, 103, 104
— Hôtel de, 60, 64, 65, 158, 358
— Louis II. de Bourbon, Prince de, "*le Grand* Condé" (elder brother of Madame de Longueville), birth, 12; education, 13–16; admirer of Corneille, 41; his epigrams, 45, 46; brings his future brothers-in-arms to Chantilly, 47, 48; his passion for Marthe du Vigean, 50; betrothed against his will to Mlle. de Maillé-Brézé, 51; his first campaign, 52; his marriage, 52, 53; falls seriously ill, 53; tyranny exercised over him by Richelieu, 54; gains the battle of Rocroi, 63–65; reduces Thionville, 65; his indifference at the birth of his son, 80, 81; schemes to procure the dissolution of his marriage, 81, 82; indignant at Madame de Montbazon's calumnies against his sister, 82, 83; receives the wounded Coligny into his house, 87; gains fresh laurels at the battles of Freiburg and Nördlingen, 93; breaks off his relations with Marthe du Vigean, 93, 94; reduces Dunkerque, 101; succeeds his father as Prince de Condé, 103, 104; leading a dissolute life, 107 and note; gains the battle of Lens, 114, 115; his grievances against Mazarin, 124; fails to reduce Lerida, 125; his difficulties in the Flemish campaign of 1648, 125; declines to join the opposition to the Court, 126; his dislike of Mazarin, 135; summoned to Paris, 137; his interview with Retz, 137; his outspoken language to the magistrates, 139; has a stormy interview with Madame de Longueville, 139; in favour of compromise, 141, 142; takes part in the conference at Saint-Germain, 142; loses his temper in the Parlement, 146; accompanies the Court in its flight to Saint-Germain, 149; commands the royal troops against the Frondeurs, 159, 160; his grief at the death of the Duc de Châtillon, 160; sacrifices his jewels in the royal cause, 165; his position and pretensions after the Peace of Rueil, 171, 172; refuses the command of the army in Flanders and retires to Burgundy, 173; joins the Court at Compiègne, 175; accompanies it to Paris, 176; looks with disapproval on the proposed marriage of Mazarin's niece, Laure Mancini, to the Duc de Mercœur, 178; surrounded by flatterers, 178, 179; quarrels violently with Mazarin, 179, 180; overtures made to him by the Old Fronde, 180; reconciled to the Cardinal, 181; his conversation with Madame de Longueville, 181, 182; sups with Mazarin, 182; intrigues with the Frondeurs, 182; enters into an agreement with Mazarin, 182, 183; his pride and arrogance, 183, 184; defeated in the "War of the *Tabourets*," 184, 185; attack upon his coach on the Pont-Neuf, 187; prosecutes Retz, Beaufort, and Broussel before the Parlement, 187, 188; instigates Jarzé to attempt to supplant Mazarin in the Queen's affections, 190; promotes the clandestine marriage of the Duc de Richelieu and Madame de Pons, 190–192; coalition of the Court and the Old Fronde against him, 192, 193; arrested and conveyed to Vincennes, 193–197; transferred to Marcoussis, 223; removed to Havre, 225; his release demanded by the Parlement of Paris, 243; released, 247, 248; returns to Paris, 248; unfitted for political

leadership, 251; unfavourable to the proposal to deprive Anne of Austria of the regency, 25; approaches the Court, 254, 255; becomes an object of suspicion to the Frondeurs, 256; breaks off the marriage arranged between his brother and Mlle. de Chevreuse, 257–262; his mistaken policy, 265, 266; his exorbitant pretensions, 266, 267; negotiates with Spain, 268; outmanœuvred by Mazarin, 268, 269; his imperious temper and ingratitude alienate his supporters, 269–271; project of re-arresting or assassinating him, 275–277; his flight to Saint-Maur, 278; demands the dismissal of Le Tellier, Servien, and Lionne, 280; signs the Treaty of Saint-Maur, 281; returns to Paris, 284, 285; his arrogant and hostile tone towards the Court, 285, 286; coalition of the Court and the Frondeurs against him, 286; declaration of the Queen against him, 287; brings armed men to the Palais de Justice, 287; declines to attend the proclamation of Louis XIV.'s majority, 289, 290; interview with the Duc de Longueville, at Trie, 290; undecided how to act, 291, 292; retires to Berry, 292, 293; "draws the sword," 293; sets out for Bordeaux, 294; his plan of campaign, 299, 300; concludes treaty with Spain, 301 and note; his successful opening of the war soon followed by reverses, 302; resolves to take command of the Frondeurs on the Loire, 305; appoints Conti his lieutenant-general in Guienne, 306; his adventurous ride from Agen to the Loire, 307, 308; defeats Hocquincourt at Bléneau, but is checked by Turenne, 308, 309; leaves the army and goes to Paris, 309, 310; his futile negotiations with the Court, 310–313; appeals to the populace, 313; resumes command of the army and fights the battle of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, 314–316; question of his responsibility for the massacre at the Hôtel de Ville considered, 317 and note; attempts to negotiate with the Court, 319; retires to Flanders, 319; his conduct in regard to the *Ormée* at Bordeaux, 327; supports its tyranny, and throws the responsibility upon his brother and sister, 329, 330; sends envoys to England, 331; favours the idea of a republic, 332; condemned for high treason, 344, 345; Madame de Longueville's letter to him, 347, 348; his return to France after the Peace of the Pyrenees, 356, 357; becomes a courtier, 358; roughly handled in La Rochefoucauld's *Mémoires*, 366, 367; exasperated by Bussy-Rabutin's slanders concerning his sister and Madame de Châtillon, 368 note; endeavours to secure Port-Royal-de-Paris for its former inmates, 372; wishes to transfer the duchy of Longueville from the Comte de Dunois to the Comte de Saint-Paul, 375, 376; forbidden by Louis XIV. to become a candidate for the Crown of Poland, 380; wounded at the Passage of the Rhine, 381; present at Madame de Longueville's death. 385

Conrart, 31 and note; (cited) 316 note, 317 note

Conti, Anne Marie Martinozzi, Princesse de, 339, 353, 356, 374 note

— Armand de Bourbon, Prince de (younger brother of Madame de Longueville), his birth, 12; his personal appearance, 104; his education, 104; passionate admiration for his sister, 105; completely dominated by her, 122; compelled by Condé to accompany him to Saint-Germain, 150; escapes, 152, 153; generalissimo of the Fronde, 155; introduces a Spanish envoy to the Parlement, 163, 164; reproached by Mathieu Molé with treason, 167; his demands at the Peace of Rueil, 168; in definite opposition to the Court, 173; intrigues with Madame de Longueville against Mazarin, 181; arrested and taken to Vincennes, 195, 196; removed to Marcoussis, 223; taken to Havre, 225; released, 247, 248; rupture of his engagement to Mlle. de Chevreuse, 257–264; signs the Treaty of Saint-Maur, 281; conduct at Bourges, 295; goes to Bordeaux, 295; lieutenant-general of Condé in Guienne, 306; quarrels with Madame de Longueville, 321, 322; has an intrigue with Madame de Calvimont, 323 note; libelled by the Royalists of Bordeaux, 330, 331; makes terms for himself with the Court, 337, 338; decides against English intervention in Guienne, 338; signs the capitulation of Bordeaux, 339; retires to Languedoc, 339; marries Anne Marie Martinozzi, 339; reconciled to his sister, 354; serves in Catalonia and Italy, 354; becomes devout, 354, 355; his meeting with Condé on the latter's return to France, 357

Corneille, Pierre, 31, 32, 41, 44, 85
Cosnac, Daniel de (almoner of the Prince de Conti), 337, 338
Cours-la-Reine, the, 78 note
Cousin, Victor, 82, 211, 234; (cited) 17, 24, 25, 38, 45, 55, 56, 83 note, 120, 121, 230, 234, 238 note, 265, 273, 277, 335, 351, 352, 353, 360
Cromwell, Oliver, 245, 331, 332, 337, 338
Cugnac (agent of Condé in England), 331

"Day of the Barricades," the, 132–135, 187
Decree of Union, the, 119, 120, 126
Degli Ponti, surrenders Rethel, 227, 228
Descartes, 85, 351
Desmarets (poet), 44
Desormeaux (cited), 291 note
Dieppe, Madame de Longueville at, 203–209
Domat, 351
Du Bled, M. Victor (cited), 28
Du Bosc, Pierre, 199
Du Cayer (painter), 24, 38
Du Daugnon, Comte, 266, 301, 302, 312, 336
Dunkerque, surrenders to the Duc d'Enghien, 101, 102
Dunois, Jean Louis Charles d'Orléans, Comte de (son of Madame de Longueville), 90, 220, 374–377
— Louis, Comte de, "Bastard of Orléans," 55
— Marie Gabrielle d'Orléans, Mlle. de (daughter of Madame de Longueville), 220
Du Plessis-Bellière, Marquis, 207, 208 209, 214
Du Plessis-Praslin, Maréchal, 221, 222
Du Quesne, Abraham, 208, 210
Duretête (leader of the *Ormée* at Bordeaux), 326, 336, 338, 340
Du Vigean, Anne Louise de Fors: *see* Pons, Marquise de
— Marthe de Fors, 30, 50, 51, 80, 82, 93, 94, 107 and note, 369
Du Vigeans, the, 43 note, 74

Egmont, Juste d', his portrait of Madame de Longueville, 37
Elbeuf, Duc d', 155, 163
Émeri, d' (Comptroller-General of Finance), 116
Enghien, Henri Jules de Bourbon, Duc d', 80, 81, 124, 125, 197, 219, 223, 244, 257, 339, 356, 357, 380
— Louis de Bourbon, Duc d': *see* Condé
Épernon, Duc d', 219, 324, 340
Erlach, Maréchal d', 139
Esprit, Jacques, 43, 95, 350, 367
Estrades, Comte d', 85, 86, 325, 340
Fabert (governor of Sedan), 255, 302
Faubourg Saint-Antoine, Battle of, 315, 316
Ferdinand III., Emperor, 114
Feuquières, Comte de (governor of Verdun), 249
Filhot, Jacques, his heroic conduct at Bordeaux, 335, 336
"First of Corinthians," the, 154, 160
Fismes, engagement at, 222
Fontaine, Comte de, 64
— (Jansenist), 360, 369 note; (cited) 362, 373–374
Fontaines, Mlle. de (Mère Madeleine de Saint-Joseph), 90
"*Formulaire*," the, 360 and note, 372
Fors, Marquis de, 43 note
Fouquerolles, Madame de, 74
Fouquet-Croissy (counsellor of the Parlement), 244, 293, 294
François I., King of France, 102
Frederick V., Elector Palatine, 233
Freiburg, Battle of, 93
Fronde, the, origin of the name, 135 note
Fuensaldana, Count de, 222, 268

Gamaches, Marquise de, 45, 48, 230
Gamarra, Don Estavan de, 228
Gardiner, S. R. (cited), 332
Gassion, Maréchal de, 111
"*Genre précieux*," the, 28, 29
Ginetti, Cardinal, 90
Godeau, Abbé, 31, 43
Gombaud, 31
Gondi, Jean François Paul: *see* Retz
Gondrin, M. de, Archbishop of Sens, 369, 371
Gonzague, Anne de: *see* Palatine, Anne, Princess
— Marie de: *see* Marie, Queen of Poland
Gourville: *see* Hérault de Gourville
Gramont, Chevalier de, 236, 237
— Maréchal de, 30, 245
Grand Cyrus, le, 30, 35, 36, 38, 40, 234
Guéménée, Duchesse de, 189 note, 350
Guerchy, Mlle. de (beloved by the Duc de Châtillon), 161
Guirlande de Julie, la, 30
Guitaut, Comte de, arrests the princes, 195, 196
Guise, Henri I. de Lorraine, Duc de, 85
— Henri II. de Lorraine, Duc de, 47, 66, 67, 83, 84–87, 122
Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, 33

Halley, Antoine (poet), 199
Hamelot de la Houssaye (cited), 109
Harcourt, Comte d', 45, 79, 159, 173, 206, 276, 301, 302, 324
Hardouin de Péréfixe, Archbishop of Paris, 372

Harlay de Chanvalon, Archbishop of Paris, 386
Haro, Don Luis de (Prime Minister of Spain), 232
Hautefort, Marie de: *see* Schomberg, Duchesse de
Hauteroche (actor), 31
Henri IV., King of France, 9, 116
Henriette Marie de France, Queen of England, 331
Hérault de Gourville, Jean, 240, 300, 301, 304 note, 307, 309, 311, 312
Hervart (agent of Mazarin), 165, 216, 259
Histoire d'Agésilan et d'Isménie, 87, 88
Hocquincourt, Maréchal d', 222, 276, 277, 302, 308, 309
Hôpital, Maréchal de l', 63, 64, 185, 310, 316 note
Hôtel de Ville, massacre at, 316, 317
Houdancourt: *see* La Mothe-Houdancourt
Hull, Anselm van (painter), his portrait of Madame de Longueville, 37
Humières, Maréchale d', 384 note

Illiers, Jacqueline d' (mistress of Henri II., Duc de Longueville), 56
"Importants," the, 66, 67, 68, 70, 75, 111, 121, 122, 124
Innocent X., Pope, 359, 360 note
Ithier, Père, 333–335, 339, 340 and note

Jansenism, 360, 361, 370–372
Jansenists, the, 360, 361, 369, 370
Jansenius, Cornelius, 359, 360
Jarzé, Marquis de, endeavours to supplant Mazarin in the affections of Anne of Austria, 190
Jesuits, the, 116, 359, 360, 371, 372
John Casimir, King of Poland, 379
Joinville, Prince de, 54
Joly, Claude, 95; (cited) 96, 98, 99, 100
— Guy, 95, 187; (cited), 293

La Bruyère (cited), 32 note
La Fayette, Comtesse de, 31, 350, 382
La Ferté-Senneterre, Maréchal, 64, 145, 314, 315, 316, 379
— Maréchale, 379 and note, 383
La Grande Mademoiselle; *see* Montpensier, Duchesse de
Lair, M. Jules (cited), 20
Lalane, Abbé de, 369 note, 372
La Meilleraie, Maréchal de, 51, 54, 132, 142, 221
La Mesnardière, 34
La Mothe-Houdancourt, Maréchal de, 155, 156, 291
Lancri de Bains, Mlle. (Mère Marie Madeleine de Jésus), 368
La Rivière, Abbé de (favourite of Duc d'Orléans), 132, 144, 145, 179, 180, 192, 193, 194, 195 and note
La Rivière (agent of Condé), 331
La Rochefoucauld, Andrée de Vivonne, Duchesse de, 108, 184, 185
— François V., Duc de, 109
— François VI., Duc de, persuades Madame de Montbazon to surrender the dropped love-letters attributed by her to Madame de Longueville, 74; his early career, 107–111; his hopes of favour under the regency disappointed, 111, 112; resolved to gain the affections of Madame de Longueville, in order to further his own designs, 112; his cynical account of the beginning of their *liaison*, 112, 113; acquires a complete ascendency over her, 113, 114; intrigues with her against the Court, 122; his grievances against Mazarin and the Queen, 148; persuades Conti and Longueville to escape from Saint-Germain, 152; one of the "generals" of Paris, 155; his hatred of Retz, 157 and note; believed to be the father of Madame de Longueville's son Charles Paris d'Orléans, 158; wounded in a skirmish, 161; his demands at the Peace of Rueil, 168; in definite opposition to the Court, 173; desires the "honours of the Louvre" and a *tabouret* for his wife, 184 and note; his relations with Madame de Longueville revealed to the lady's husband by Retz, 188; accompanies Madame de Longueville in her flight to Normandy, 199; goes to stir up disaffection in Poitou, 208; attempts to surprise Saumur, 219; brings the Princesse de Condé to Bordeaux, 219, 220; his conduct during the siege of Bordeaux, 223; receives permission to retire to his estates, 224; annoyed at the attentions paid by certain gentlemen at Stenai to Madame de Longueville, 237 and note; has secret conferences with Mazarin at the Palais-Royal, 242; concludes an alliance with the Old Fronde, 243, 244; question of his responsibility for the rupture of the engagement between Conti and Mlle. de Chevreuse considered, 262, 263; his vacillation, 283, 284; counsels Condé to negotiate with the Court, 283; scene with Retz at the Palais de Justice, 287–289; present at the final conference of his party at Montrond, 293; accompanies Condé to Bordeaux, 294; breaks off his relations with Madame de Longueville, and "from her lover becomes

La Rochefoucauld, François VI., Duc de—continued
her enemy," 296–299; accompanies Condé on his adventurous ride from Guienne to the Loire, 307, 308; and to Paris, 309; engineers a disgraceful conspiracy against Madame de Longueville, 311; wounded in the battle of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, 315, 316; retires to Lorraine, 318; his *Maximes*, 351, 352; calumniates Madame de Longueville in his *Mémoires*, 364–367; his letter to Madame de Sablé, 367, 368; (cited) 35, 62, 85, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 259 note, 261 note, 262, 279, 288 note, 289, 297, 310, 311, 326, 366, 367
La Trémoille, Duc de, 168, 301
Lauzun, Duc de, 379
La Valette, Cardinal de, 29
La Vallière, Louise de, 385
La Vieuville, Chevalier de (lover of the Princess Palatine), 234, 235, 273
— Duc de, 234, 273 and note
La Vrillière, 198
League, the, 17, 317, 326
Le Clerc, 40
Lecocq, M. Georges (cited), 34
Le Féron (Provost of the Merchants), 154, 158, 310
Le Jeune, Père (confessor to Mlle. de Bourbon), 22
Le Maître, Antoine, 369 note
Lenet, Pierre, 221, 293, 294, 306, 312, 321, 322, 323, 326, 327, 330, 331 and note, 332, 333, 334, 335, 339, 342, 346: (cited) 34, 35, 46, 181, 182, 229, 323 note, 333, 339 note
Lens, Battle of, 47, 125, 128, 140, 196
Leopold, Archduke of Austria, 163, 164, 169, 222
Lerida, Condé's failure before, 125, 126
Lesdiguières, Duchesse de, 89
Le Tellier, Abbé, 372
— Michel, 206, 245, 247, 248 note, 280, 284
L'Étoile, 44
Liancourt, Duchesse de, 44
Liège, Madame de Longueville at, 95
Lionne, Hugues de, 145, 193, 259, 268, 272, 280, 284, 372; (cited) 259, 263
Longueil (counsellor of the Parlement), 137, 148
Longueville, Anne Geneviève de Bourbon, Duchesse de, birth, 12; education, 16; early religious impressions, 19, 20; desires to enter the Carmelites, 22, 23; attends a State ball at the Louvre, 24; and changes her views of life, 25; at the Hôtel de Rambouillet, 34; her beauty, 35–37; her portraits, 37, 38; her intellectual gifts, 38, 39; her literary friends, 39, 40; becomes the "arbitrix" of taste," 40; her admiration for Voiture, 41; champions him against Benserade, 41; patronises Chapelain, 42; anticipates the verdict of the critics on his *Pucelle*, 42, 43; her occupations during the summer, 43, 44; her girl friends, 48–50; matrimonial projects in regard to her, 54, 55; betrothed to the Duc de Longueville, 55; her marriage, 57; attacked by small-pox, 57; her success as an hostess, 60; does not love her husband, 61; her relations with Maurice de Coligny considered, 61–63; hated by Madame de Montbazon, 71, 72; calumniated by her, 72, 73; her innocence established, 73, 74; demands and obtains reparation, 75–77; intervenes on behalf of her sister-in-law, the Duchesse d'Enghien, 82; question of her responsibility for the fatal duel between Coligny and Guise considered, 83, 84; said to have watched the combat, 86; figures as the heroine of a novel, 87; uses her charms on behalf of her brother, Enghien, 88–90; severe portrait of her by Mazarin, 89, 90; gives birth to a daughter, 90; and to a son, 90; reluctant to accompany her husband to Germany, 92; her journey to Münster, 94–96; her tour in Holland, 98–100; her life at Münster, 100, 101; returns to France, 104; passionate affection of her younger brother, Conti, for her, 105; performance of the opera *Orphée* given in her honour, 105; her dazzling position, 106, 107; beginning of her *liaison* with La Rochefoucauld, 112–114; entirely dominated by her lover, 121; her intrigues against the Court, 121, 122; fails to gain the support of Condé, 125, 126; feared by Mazarin, 135, 136; has a stormy interview with Condé, 139, 140; endeavours to bring about a rupture between Orléans and the Court, 144, 145; and to widen the breach between her husband and Mazarin, 145, 146; allied with Retz, 147, 148; and with the firebrands of the Parlement, 148; refuses to accompany the Court to Saint-Germain, 150, 151; goes to reside with her children at the Hôtel de Ville, 156, 157; takes part in all the deliberations of the insurgents, 157; gives birth to Charles Paris d'Orléans, 158; favours the negotiations of the Fronde with Spain, 163; urges Conti to support the claims of La Rochefoucauld, 168; her interview with the Queen

at Saint-Germain, 170, 171; endeavours to draw Condé from his alliance with Mazarin, 171–173; in definite opposition to the Government, 173; wins her mother over to her views, 174; renews her efforts to separate *Monsieur le Prince* and Mazarin, 174; prediction of the Duc de Rohan-Chabot in regard to her and Condé, 176; disliked by Anne of Austria, 177; urges Condé to oppose the marriage of the Duc de Mercœur and Laure Mancini, 178; and to obtain the government of the Pont-de-l'Arche for her husband, 178; favours an alliance with the Old Fronde against Mazarin, 180; intrigues to prevent an accommodation between her brother and the Cardinal, 181; angry at their reconciliation, 181, 182; her pride and arrogance, 183, 184; defeated in the "War of the *Tabourets*," 184, 185; exasperated against Retz, 188; promotes a clandestine marriage between the young Duc de Richelieu and Madame de Pons, 191, 192; escapes to Normandy after the arrest of the princes, 197–199; outrage committed by her followers on a royal courier, 200, 201; "does everything possible to make the capital of the province revolt," 201, 202; compelled to leave Rouen, 202; refused admission to Havre, 203; admitted to the Château of Dieppe, 203, 204; endeavours, but without success, to gain the Dieppois over to her cause, 204, 205; demands help from Spain, 204; declines to obey the Queen's order to leave Dieppe, 207; threatens the citizens, 208; besieged by the royal troops, 208; escapes from the château, 208, 209; her perilous adventures, 209, 210; escapes to Holland in disguise, 210; her letter to Louis XIV., 211–215; joins Turenne at Stenai, 215; concludes a treaty with Spain, 216; issues a manifesto in justification of her conduct, 216, 217; declared guilty of high treason, 218; loses her daughter, 220; the soul of the party of the princes, 221; her grief at her mother's death, 230; her touching letter to the Prioress of the Carmelites, 230, 231; her correspondence with Anne de Gonzague, Princess Palatine, 233–241; reluctance of Mazarin to accept her overtures, 242; returns to Paris, 249; her brilliant position at this moment, 250; her influence over her brothers, 251; claims Conti's undivided homage, 258; question of her responsibility for the rupture of his marriage with Mlle. de Chevreuse considered, 262, 263; her policy, 266; on bad terms with her husband, 271; and with her step-daughter, Mlle. de Longueville, 272; declines to accompany the duke to Normandy, 272; follows Condé to Saint-Maur, 279; in favour of an open rupture with the Court, 280; signs the Treaty of Saint-Maur, 281; her motives for desiring civil war, 281–283; exercises the chief influence in the counsels of her party, 284; retires to Berry, 285; at Montrond, 293; triumphs over Condé's last scruples, 293; goes to Bourges, 294; compelled to retire to Montrond and thence to Bordeaux, 295, 296; her supposed *liaison* with the Duc de Nemours, 296; true explanation of her conduct, 296, 297; harshly discarded by La Rochefoucauld, 297, 298; her despair, 298, 299; again declared guilty of high treason, 303; urges Condé to assume command of the Frondeurs on the Loire, 305; appointed a member of the Council at Bordeaux, 306; disgraceful conspiracy of La Rochefoucauld and Madame de Châtillon against her, 311; ingratitude of Condé towards her, 312; rupture between her and her younger brother, 321, 322; her hopes thwarted on every side, 322, 323; intrigues of Lenet against her, 323 324; innocent of having encouraged the excesses of the *Ormée*, 326, 327; her courage and presence of mind, 327–329; the object of abominable libels, 330, 331 and note; saves the life of Père Ithier, 335; favours English intervention in Guienne, 337; her fidelity to Condé inviolable, 338; recognises the futility of further resistance, 339; retires to Montreuil-Bellay, in Anjou, 339, 340; her position after the surrender of Bordeaux, 341; her letter to Lenet, 342; goes to visit her aunt, the Duchesse de Montmorency, at Moulins, 342, 343; her conversion, 343; slander still busy with her name, 343, 344; her grief at Condé's condemnation for high treason, 345; reconciled to her husband, 346; goes to Normandy, 346; her piety and benevolence, 347; her letter to Condé, 347, 348; extravagant austerities imposed upon her by her confessor, 348; visited by the Princess Palatine, 348, 349; her friend-

Longueville, Anne, Duchesse de—continued
ship with Mlle. de Vertus, 349; renews her intimacy with Madame de Sablé, 349, 350; her correspondence with her, 352–356; her meeting with Condé on his return to France, 357; her visit to Fontainebleau, 358, 359; converted to Jansenism, 359–361; "*la Grande Mère* Angélique's" opinion of her, 361; takes Antoine Singlin as her confessor, 361–363; her self-examination, 363, 364; calumniated by La Rochefoucauld in his *Mémoires*, 364–368; her generous conduct towards Bussy-Rabutin, 368 note; loses her husband, 368; constitutes herself the champion of the persecuted Jansenists, 369; shelters Arnauld and Nicole in her hôtel, 369, 370; her letter to Pope Clement IX., 370, 371; her share in the Peace of the Church, 371–373; consideration of Louis XIV. for her, 373 and note; Fontaine's eulogy of her, 373, 374; her troubles with her two sons, the Comte de Dunois and the Comte de Saint-Paul, 374–379; endeavours to arrange a marriage for the latter with *Mademoiselle*, 379; obtains Louis XIV.'s consent to his candidature for the Crown of Poland, 380; her intense grief on learning of his death at the Passage of the Rhine, 381, 382; her touching letter to the Abbé de Saint-Cyran, 382, 383; obtains the legitimation of Longueville's natural son, Charles Louis d'Orléans, 383, 384; withdraws almost entirely from the world, 384; her profound humility, 385; her death, 385; Pontchâteau's appreciation of her, 386, 387
Longueville, Charles Louis d'Orléans, Chevalier de (natural son of Charles Paris, Duc de Longueville), 379, 383, 384
— Charles Paris d'Orléans, Duc de Longueville (son of Madame de Longueville), 158, 220, 271, 375, 376, 377–384
— Henri I., Duc de, 55
— Henri II., Duc de (husband of Madame de Longueville), his genealogy, 55, 56; his personal appearance and character, 56, 57; marries Mlle. de Bourbon, 57; his relations with his wife, 72; lover of Madame de Montbazon, 72; sent as French Ambassador to the Congress of Münster, 91, 92; meets his wife at Wesel, 96; his magnificence at Münster, 97, 98; his grievances against Mazarin, 122–124; takes part in the conference at Saint-Germain, 142; his demands refused by Mazarin, 146; intriguing against the Government, 148; his irresolute conduct, 152; escapes from Saint-Germain and declares for the Fronde, 152, 153; incites Normandy to insurrection, 158, 159; his demands at the Peace of Rueil, 168; very embarrassed in the presence of Anne of Austria, 170; receives the government of the Pont-de-l'Arche, 181; informed by Retz of his wife's relations with La Rochefoucauld, 188; arrested and taken to Vincennes, 194–196; removed to Marcoussis, 223; and to Havre, 225; disinclined to compromise himself in Condé's projects, 271; on bad terms with his wife, 271, 272; orders her to join him in Normandy, 282; his interview with Condé at Trie, 290; reconciled to his wife, 345, 346; his death, 368
— Léonor d'Orléans, Duc, 55
— Marie d'Orléans, Mlle. de: *see* Nemours, Duchesse de
Lorraine, Marguerite de: *see* Orléans, Duchesse de
Louis XIII., King of France, 9, 11, 15, 16, 24, 60, 63, 90, 108, 110, 117, 118
— XIV., King of France, 63, 128, 136, 149, 176, 211, 221, 247, 252, 253, 254, 285, 289, 290, 291, 295, 302, 303, 315, 319, 320, 346, 350, 357, 358, 360, 372, 373 note, 380, 383, 384 and note
Luynes, Connétable de, 79
— Duc de, 155

Maillé-Brézé, Claire Clémence de: *see* Condé
Maintenon, Madame de (cited), 37, 39
Maisons, Président de, 142, 270
Maldalchini, Donna Olympia, 144
Mancini, Hortense: *see* Mazarin, Duchesse de
— Laure: *see* Mercœur, Duchesse de
— Marianne: *see* Bouillon, Duchesse de
— Paul, 286, 287, 315
Maria Theresa, Queen of France, 358
Marie de Gonzague, Queen of Poland, 56, 233
— de' Medici, Queen of France, 65, 78 note, 116
Marigny (poet), 323
Marsillac, Prince de: *see* La Rochefoucauld
— Prince de (son of François VI. Duc de La Rochefoucauld), 284, 307
Marsin, Comte de, 46, 294, 302, 306, 321, 322, 324, 325, 335, 337, 339

Martin, Henri (cited), 155
— (sheriff of Dieppe), 205, 208
Martinozzi, Anne Marie : *see* Conti
Maulevrier, Comte de, 74
Maure, Comte de, 168, 169, 302
— Comtesse de, 84
Maurillac, Maréchal de, 169 and note
Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, 114, 115
Mazarin. Cardinal, his critical position after the death of Louis XIII., 65, 66 ; resolves to secure the affections of Anne of Austria, 69 ; advises the Queen to compel Madame de Montbazon to make a public apology for calumniating Madame de Longueville, 75 ; drafts the apology, 76 ; plot against his life, 79, 80 ; secures the disgrace of the "Importants," 80 ; his severe portrait of Madame de Longueville, 89, 90 ; resolves to send the Duc de Longueville to the Congress of Münster, 91 ; anxious to get Madame de Longueville away from Paris. 92 ; gives a representation of the opera *Orphée* in honour of the princess, 105, 106 ; his foreign policy, 114, 115 ; his letter to Servien, 115 ; underrates the gravity of the parliamentary opposition, 120, 121 ; treatment of the Duc de Longueville, 123, 124 ; grievances of Condé against him, 124, 125 ; seriously alarmed at the situation of affairs, 127, 128 ; reluctant to recall Condé from Flanders, 135, 136 ; advises their Majesties to retire to Rueil, 136 ; causes Châteauneuf and Chavigny to be disgraced, 138 ; "a rascally Sicilian," 141 ; complains of the weakness of the princes, 141 ; takes no part in the conference at Saint-Germain, 142 ; his duplicity, 142–144 ; the object of violent denunciations in the Parlement, 146 ; grievances of La Rochefoucauld against him, 148 ; "made to pass for one of the most obstinate Jews in Europe," 149 ; resolved on repressive measures, 149 ; accompanies the Court in its flight to Saint-Germain, 149, 150 ; distrustful of Condé's loyalty, 154 ; decree of the Parlement against him, 154 ; denounced in a swarm of pamphlets, 161, 162 ; induces Turenne's troops to desert him, 165 ; remains in the background during the negotiations at Rueil, 166 ; continues to be an object of attack, 173, 174 ; intrigues of Madame de Longueville against him, 174 ; gains over Mesdames de Chevreuse and de Montbazon, 174, 175 ; arranges a marriage for his niece Laure Mancini with the Duc de Mercœur, 175 ; returns to Paris, 176 ; quarrels with Condé, 179, 180 ; reconciled to him, 181 ; sups with him at the Luxembourg, 182 ; enters into an agreement with him, 182, 183 ; his responsibility for the pretended assassination of Joly and the attack upon Condé's coach considered, 187 : negotiates with the Old Fronde for an alliance against Condé, 188, 189 ; advises the Queen to administer a public rebuke to Jarzé, 190 ; concludes an alliance with the Frondeurs and decides on the arrest of Condé, 192, 193 ; tricks Condé into signing the order for his own arrest, 193, 194 ; his conduct on the night of the arrest of the princes, 194, 195 ; forestalls Madame de Longueville at Rouen, 200 ; and at Havre, 203 ; brings the Court to Normandy, 206, 207 ; denounced by Madame de Longueville in her letter to Louis XIV., 211–215 ; takes vigorous means to repress the insurrections for the release of the princes, 221 ; strained relations with the Frondeurs, 225 ; refuses Retz's demand for a cardinal's hat, 225–227 ; goes to join the army in Champagne, 227 ; his secret interviews with La Rochefoucauld, 242 ; hesitates to accept his propositions, 242, 243 ; alliance of the two Frondes against him, 243–245 ; his dismissal demanded by the Parlement, 246 ; leaves Paris, 246 ; releases the princes, 247, 248 ; retires to Brühl, 248 ; keeps up an active correspondence with the Queen, 252 ; counsels her to separate Condé and Orléans, 254, 255 ; and to prevent the marriage of the Prince de Conti to Mlle. de Chevreuse, 258, 259 ; receives an offer of assistance from Madame de Chevreuse, 264 ; determined to oppose the pretensions of Condé, 267, 268 ; outmanœuvres the prince, 268, 269 ; advises the Queen to win over Condé's dissatisfied adherents, 269 ; flatters Retz, 274, 275 ; negotiations for his return, 286, 287 ; raises an army and returns to France, 302, 303 ; decree of the Parlement against him, 303 ; witnesses the battle of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, 315 ; again goes into exile, 319 ; edicts against him annulled, 319 ; his triumphant return to Paris, 320 ; fears Madame de Longueville's influence in Normandy, 345 ; his reception of Condé on the latter's return to France, 357 ; (cited), 62, 68, 69 and note,

Mazarin, Cardinal—continued 89, 90, 92, 141, 142, 144, 145, 146, 189 note, 246, 248 note, 254, 258, 259, 268, 272, 274
Mazarin, Hortense Mancini, Duchesse de, 283
Mazarinades, the, 161, 174, 211
Mello, Don Francisco de, commands the Spaniards at Rocroi, 63
Mémoires, La Rochefoucauld's, 364–368
Ménage, 31
Mercœur, Duc de, 80, 175, 178, 179, 286
— Duchesse de, 175, 178, 179, 286
Mesmes, Président de, 142, 164, 166
Michael Wisniowiecki, King of Poland, 380
Mignard (painter), portrait of Madame de Longueville attributed to him, 38
Miossens, Comte de, 112, 113, 194, 196
Molé, Mathieu (First President of the Parlement of Paris), 118, 128, 129, 130, 142, 164, 167, 169, 187, 255, 256, 257, 270, 271, 286
Molière, 29, 85, 355
Montausier, Marquis de, 29, 49, 324, 350
— Marquise de, 30, 31, 33, 45, 49, 58, 350
Montbazon, Duchesse de, 57, 61, 68, 70–79, 82, 122, 175, 238, 349
Montespan, Marquis de, 384 note
— Marquise de (mistress of Louis XIV.), 350, 384 and note
Montglat, Marquis de (cited), 201, 202, 276, 277, 295, 358
Montigny (governor of Dieppe), 94, 203–205
Montmorency, Charlotte Marguerite de: *see* Condé
— Henri I., Duc and Connétable de, 9 note
— Henri II., Duc de, 20–22, 44, 81, 342
— Louise de Budos, Duchesse de, 9 note
— Maria Felicia Orsini, Duchesse de, 21, 22, 342, 343, 344
Montmorency-Boutteville, François, Comte de, 47, 178, 196, 197, 222, 241, 267
— Isabelle Angélique de: *see* Châtillon, Duchesse de
— Louise de: *see* Valençay, Marquise de
Montpensier, Duchesse de, 76, 77, 149, 206, 250, 304 and note, 305, 316, 317, 320, 379; (cited), 37, 60, 77, 176 note, 206, 248 note, 305 note
Montrond, Château of, 13, 14, 15, 219, 292, 293, 294, 295
Morlot, Claude, libels Anne of Austria, 174
Morosini, Venetian Ambassador in Paris (cited), 185 note, 285, 317 note
Motteville, Marquise de (cited), 18 note, 36, 37, 62, 75, 76, 77 note, 78, 83 and note, 86, 105, 106, 107, 108 note, 114, 129 note, 143, 150, 170, 171, 172, 174, 176, 181, 189 note, 197, 207, 227, 242, 250, 251, 255, 256, 262, 276, 298, 311
Münster, Congress of, 37, 90, 97, 98, 100–102, 122
— Madame de Longueville's journey to, 94–97
Myron (counsellor of the Parlement of Rouen), 200

Navailles, Duc de, 286
— Duchesse de, 286
Nemours, Charles Amédée de Savoie, Duc de, 47 and note, 161, 226 and note, 244, 266, 270, 279, 281, 292, 293, 294–298, 301 and note, 303, 304, 305 and note, 308, 309, 312, 315, 317, 318
— Henri de Savoie, Duc de, 47 note, 56, 368
— Louis de Savoie, Duc de, 47 and note
— Marie d'Orléans, Duchesse de, 47 note, 56, 170, 175, 272, 368, 376 and note; (cited) 184, 207, 262, 296, 297 and note
Nicole, Pierre, 351, 369 and note, 370, 371; (cited) 60
Nogent La Moussaye, Baron, 47 and note, 64, 178, 211, 231, 237
Noirmoutier, Marquis de, 153, 155, 157, 166, 168, 206
Noisy, "Treaty" of, 148, 152
Nördlingen, Battle of, 13, 93
Novion, Président de, 142

Orléans, Anne Marie Louise d': *see* Montpensier, Duchesse de
— Catherine Angélique (natural daughter of Henri II., Duc de Longueville), 56, 57
— Charlotte Louise (daughter of Madame de Longueville), 90
— Gaston, Duc d' (*Monsieur*), 68, 76, 79, 83, 86, 131, 133, 142, 144, 145, 146, 149, 180, 181, 182, 183, 189, 192, 193, 194, 206, 217, 218, 238 note, 244 and note, 245, 246, 250, 255, 256, 257, 275, 279, 280, 284, 285, 292, 293, 303, 308, 309, 310, 312, 313, 316–318, 319, 320
— Marguerite de Lorraine, Duchesse d', 83, 150
Ormée, the, at Bordeaux, 327–330, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340
Orphée, performance of, 105, 106
Osorio, Don José (Spanish governor of Bourg), 336 and note

Palais de Justice, incidents at the, 146, 163, 164, 167, 169, 187, 188, 287, 288, 313
Palatine, Anne de Gonzague, Princess, 56, 99, 198, 199, 212, 221, 232–242, 243, 244, 248, 252, 257, 273, 274, 300, 345, 348, 349
— Edward, Prince, 99, 233
— Elector: *see* Frederick V.
— Maurice, Prince, 99
— Philip, Prince, 241 and note
Palluau, Comte de, 295, 296
Parlement of Bordeaux, the, 219, 220, 299, 306, 321, 325, 327, 329, 330
— of Paris, the, 116–121, 126–128, 129, 130, 133, 134, 135 and note, 138, 139, 140–144, 145, 146, 151, 152, 154, 155, 163–169, 172, 173, 186, 187, 188, 190, 218, 245, 246, 251, 252, 253, 254, 280, 288, 289, 290, 303, 309, 310, 313, 316, 317, 319, 320, 384
— of Rouen, the, 159, 200–202, 20
Pascal, Blaise, 85, 351, 361
— Jacqueline, 361, 372
Patin, Gui (cited), 168 note
Patru, 31
Paulet, Mlle., 30
Paulette, the, 118, 119, 120
Pavillon, Nicolas, Bishop of Alet, 354, 360, 371
"Peace of the Church," the, 371
Pegnaranda (Spanish plenipotentiary at Münster), 122, 123
Perkins, Mr. J. B. (cited), 84,
Perrault, Président, 293, 357
Petitot, portrait of Madame de Longueville attributed to him, 38
"*Petits-Maîtres*," the, 179
Philip IV., King of Spain, 21 218, 301 note, 339
Pichon (President of the Parlement of Bordeaux), 328
Pisani, Marquis de, 47
Place-Royale, the, 84–86
Pommereux, Madame de (mis Retz), 148
Pons, Marquise de (afterwards Duchesse de Richelieu), 49, 184, 185, 191 and note, 192, 203
Pontchâteau, Marquis de (cit 387
Port-Royal-de-Paris, Abbey of 360, 372, 373 and note
Port-Royal-des-Champs, Abbey of, 372 373 note, 384, 386
Priolo (secretary to Duc de Longueville), 272 and note; (cited), 2
Pucelle, la, of Chapelain, 31, 42,
Pyrenees, Peace of the, 345, 356, 357

Racan, 31
Rambouillet Hôtel de, 26–34, 3 92, 188, 350
Rambouillet, Marquis de, 26
— Marquise de, 26–28, 29, 30 and note, 33, 74
Rantzau, Maréchal de, 196
Regnesson, his engravings of Madame de Longueville, 38
Renard's garden, 78 note, 173
Rentes, the, 185
Rethel, Battle of, 227, 228
Retz, Cardinal de, early life and character, 130, 131; intercedes with Anne of Austria for the release of Blancmesnil and Broussel, 131, 132; incites an insurrection, 132; his interviews with Condé, 137, 140; enters into an alliance with Madame de Longueville, 147, 148; "makes Mazarin pass for one of the most obstinate Jews in Europe," 149; advises Madame de Longueville to take up her residence at the Hôtel de Ville, 156, 157; negotiates with Spain, 163, 164; in definite opposition to the Government, 173; his overtures to Condé, 180; prosecuted by Condé before the Parlement, 187; reveals to the Duc de Longueville his wife's relations with La Rochefoucauld, 188; lover of Mlle. de Chevreuse, 189 and note; enters into an alliance with the Court against Condé, 192; his demand to be nominated cardinal refused, 225–227; enters into an alliance with the party of the princes, 243–245; offers to raise the populace against the Court, 256; confers with the Queen, 274, 275; his responsibility for the proposal to assassinate Condé considered, 275–277; enters into a definite alliance with the Court, 286; brings armed men to the Palais de Justice, 287; narrowly escapes assassination, 287, 288; bestows his episcopal blessing on Condé and La Rochefoucauld, 288, 289; plays fast and loose with both sides, 304; attempts to kidnap him, 304 note; seeks to detach Orléans from Condé, 309; and to prevent a reconciliation between Mazarin and the prince, 312; "desires to rid himself of the Prince de Condé," 316; arrested and imprisoned at Vincennes, 320; (cited) 35, 39, 62, 67, 70, 155, 193, 218, 233 note, 276, 284, 288, 289, 293
Richelieu, Armand de Plessis, Duc de, 49, 58 and note, 59, 84, 111, 123, 146, 191, 192, 203
— Cardinal de, 15, 17, 21, 29, 43, 44, 50–54, 56, 58, 59, 65, 68, 82, 91, 109, 110, 116, 117, 131, 273 note, 277
Rochechouart, Gabrielle de, Abbess of Fontevrault, 350

Rocroi, Battle of, 63, 64, 93
Rœderer (cited), 28
Rohan, Duchesse de, 84, 86
— Henri, Duc de, 84
Rohan-Chabot, Duc de, 176, 304, 309, 312, 320
Ronsard, 28
Rotrou, Jean, 44
Rouen, Madame de Longueville at, 199–203
Rueil, Château of, 44, 136, 137, 138, 140, 141
— Peace of, 165–169

Sablé, Guy de Laval, Marquis de, 47, 95
— Madeleine de Souvré, Marquise de, 39, 40, 70, 74, 84, 89, 95, 101, 188, 349–356, 358, 359, 361, 362, 367, 375, 377, 378, 379, 380
Sacy, Père, 361, 364, 369 and note
Saint-Cyran, Abbé de, 361
Saint-Germain, Declaration of, 142, 147
Saint-Ibal, Comte de, 104, 199, 208
Saint-Maur, Château of, 16, 85, 278–282
— Treaty of, 281
Saint-Mesgrin, Marquis de, 315
Saint-Paul, Charles Paris d'Orléans, Comte de : *see* Longueville
Saint-Simon, Claude de Rouvroy, Duc de, 266, 269, 302, 365 note; (cited), 182
— Louis de Rouvroy, Duc de (cited) 365, 379
Saint-Thomas (agent of Condé in England), 331
Sainte-Aulaire, Comte de (cited), 202
Sainte-Beuve (cited), 370, 382 note, 385, 386
Saintsbury, Professor (cited), 42
Sarrasin, 31, 34, 44, 208, 249, 323 and note
Saugeon, Mlle. de, 192
Scève, Maurice, 28
Schomberg, Marie de Hautefort, Duchesse de, 68, 69, 80, 108, 109, 110, 350, 352
Schurman, Maria Anna van, 99
Scudéry Georges de, 30, 35, 40
— Madame de, 30
— Madeleine de, 30, 35, 36, 40, 234
Séguier, Chancellor, 43, 95, 132, 142, 194, 195
Servien, Abel, 91, 96, 98, 99, 115, 145, 194, 195, 259 note, 280, 284
Sévigné, Madame de, 31, 85, 350, 381; (cited), 354, 355, 381, 382
Sexby, Colonel, 332
Sillery, Marquis de, 268 and note, 318
Singlin, Antoine, 343, 361–364
Sirot, Baron de, 64
Sobieski, John (afterwards King of Poland), 380
Soissons, Comte de, 67
Stanhope, Earl (cited), 173 note, 260, 267
Stenai, Madame de Longueville at, 210 and note, 215, 221, 233, 235, 241, 249, 250, 257, 306
Sully, Duc de, 66

Tabouret, the, 148 note
Tabourets," " War of the, 184, 185
Tallemant des Réaux (cited), 27, 29 and note, 70, 349
Talon, Omer (advocate-general), 119
Tarente, Prince de, 301 and note
Tavannes, Comte de, 178, 301, 309, 310, 315
Termes, Marquis de, 203
Testu, Abbé, 350
Thionville, surrender of, 64, 65
Toledo, Don Gabriel de, 215
Tracey, Comte de, 123, 236 and note, 237
Tréville, M. de, 60
Turenne, Maréchal de, 95, 96, 114, 164, 165, 168, 192, 211, 215–218, 219, 221–223, 224, 227, 228, 232, 240, 241, 249, 270, 279, 280, 291, 300, 301, 308, 309, 313–315, 385 and note

Uranistes and Jobistes, quarrel of the, 41
Urban VIII., Pope, 99

Valant, 351, 352
Valençay, Marquise de, 48
Vendôme, César, Duc de, 66, 80, 178, 179, 266 and note, 324, 325
Vertus, Comte de, 155 note
— Comtesse de, 155 note
— Mlle. de, 349, 361, 362, 381
Vialart, Bishop of Châlons, 371
Villars (leader of the *Ormée* at Bordeaux), 326, 329, 334, 335, 338, 340
— Marquis de, 234, 235
— Marquise de, 234
Villeroi, Maréchal de (*gouverneur* of Louis XIV.), 136, 245, 290
Vincennes, Château of, 18, 80, 120, 129, 196, 212, 222
Viole, Président, 146, 244, 259, 260, 279, 281, 293, 294, 306, 312, 321, 323
Voiture, Vincent, 31, 32–34, 41, 42, 44, 49, 100
Voltaire (cited), 13

Watteville, Baron de, 302
Westphalia, Peace of, 115

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